

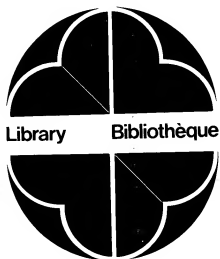
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Canadian Households and Families

by Sylvia T. Wargon

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 Statistics Canada Statistique Canada

Census Analytical Study

Canadian Households and Families:

Recent Demographic Trends

By Sylvia T. Wargon
Housing and Families Group

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ERRATUM

In Table 4.16 on page 111, the figure 50.5 in Row 7, Column 2 (1941 median age of lone-parent family heads) is incorrect. It should be 56.0. As a result of this change, the 1941 value in the topmost line of Chart 4.2 on page 112, and the second sentence in the first paragraph on page 27 should be ignored.

8-0003-505

PETER G. KIRKHAM,
Chief Statistician of Canada.



PREFACE

Ever since Paul Glick of the United States pioneered the use of demographic data in research on the family, there has been a growing awareness of the value of population statistics and demographic techniques in studying household and family units.

An early census monograph, *The Canadian Family* (Pelletier, *et al.*, 1938), drew on 1931 Census data and relevant vital statistics to examine the changing size, composition and characteristics of the country's households, families and their members. Cited in a United Nations publication as a "pioneer" effort, that study was never updated. The result has been a lack of empirical research covering recent decades at a time of increasing demand for knowledge about households and families for social welfare and policy purposes. No less important is the contribution that such research could make to the planning and development of household and family statistics in the Canadian census.

This volume, as originally conceived for the Census Analytical Studies Program (CASP), was intended to fill this research gap. But because of administrative, time and budgetary constraints, its scope was limited to the most preliminary and elementary use of mainly published statistics at the Canada level only. Using such data, the study highlights some major features of recent demographic changes in households and families and suggests further avenues of research.

Special tabulations with detailed cross-classification of variables were not prepared for this study. Also, it was not possible to display all the census statistics examined and interpreted. Tables and charts however, have been carefully referenced to aid further research. Readers who wish to obtain tables noted and described but not presented in the text may contact Census and Household Surveys Field, Statistics Canada.

The limitations imposed on the text which follows were unavoidable. Since this study represents the resumption of demographic research on household and family units after a lapse of some decades, it is hoped that there will be an opportunity to enlarge in depth and scope, the work begun here.

As one of the volumes in the Census Analytical Studies Program, this study was prepared under the auspices of the Assistant Chief Statistician, Census and Household Surveys Field, Mr. R.A. Wallace.

The author gratefully acknowledges the support of Mr. G.E. Priest, Dr. E. Pryor and Dr. L.O. Stone, all of Census and Household Surveys Field, Statistics Canada, who promoted this study. Dr. Frances Kobrin and Dr. Betty Macleod, who reviewed the original draft manuscript, were generous in their help, and contributed substantially to the improvement of the text. Thanks are also due to Dr. A. Romaniuc, Dr. J. Norland (Yam), Dr. K.G. Basavarajappa, Dr. D. Norris,

and Dr. M.V. George who provided advice on statistical and research problems, as did Gordon Brackstone, Jean-François Gosselin and Yolande Lavoie. The co-operation of members of the Housing and Families Group is also gratefully acknowledged. Dennis McColeman, Suzanne Leduc, Jocelyn Dupuis, Jacqueline Parker, Cheryl Parr, Beryl Gorman, Carmen Beauchamp and Yolande Tremblay provided typing, clerical and technical assistance. Lois McGuire and Michael Thompson deserve special thanks for their help with many tasks that greatly facilitated the completion of the study. Thanks are also due to many other people within Statistics Canada whose co-operation aided considerably the progress of the work. Of these, the writer is particularly indebted to Mr. E. Wilson and Mrs. V. Hansen of the census library; the typing pool under the supervision of Mrs. R. McRoberts and Mrs. E.M. Baldwin; the proofreading unit under the direction of Mrs. Larose; the drafting unit under the direction of Mr. G. Massicotte for drawing up the charts, and Mr. Stan Boswell and Mr. G. Keefe for editorial assistance. Also acknowledged with thanks is the work of Frances Aubry, of the office of the Senior Advisor on Population Studies and Statistics for her efforts in improving the exposition and presentation of the final draft.

The author is solely responsible for the opinions expressed here, and for any errors, deficiencies or faulty judgement in the interpretation of the materials used.

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January 1978.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. The Importance of the Demographic Study of Household and Family Units

The importance of the study of population in terms of their organization into household and family groups is easily understood. The formation of households and families in any population depends upon, and in turn influences, the basic demographic processes of fertility, nuptiality, migration and mortality, as well as a myriad of social, cultural and economic factors and events. The family as the basic and universal social institution organizes societies, regulates the lives of individuals, and serves as the reproductive unit through which populations and societies ensure their continuity. The family is the means whereby society nurtures, socializes and educates the young, and provides roots, a physical and emotional environment and affective outlets for all members. The family is also the primary decision unit where behaviour-determining decisions are made about, for example, reproduction, education, migration, spending and consumption, housing and even the expenditure, use and budgeting of time. Such decisions in turn affect the future growth of households and families, and the ultimate rate of increase of populations. Therefore, the explanation of population growth and of the relationship between, for example, demographic events and economic events is really an explanation of what is happening to and within household and family units, rather than what is happening to individuals considered as isolated entities.

For these reasons, in studying populations and population growth, it is necessary to include, to an increasing extent, the examination of the formation, composition and structure of household and family units (Bogue, 1969; United Nations, 1973; Wargon, 1974b).

1.2. The Purpose and Design of This Study

The purpose of this study is to examine at the Canada level some major features of the most recent patterns of change in the formation and demographic composition of households and families. Chapter 1 discusses the broad questions to which the study addresses itself, explains the census concepts underlying the statistics used, and summarizes the main conclusions and some of the social implications of the research results. Chapter 2 examines some major features of recent general changes in Canadian population, households and families. Recent trends in the formation, composition and characteristics of household and family heads and their members are treated in Chapters 3 (households) and 4 (families). The concluding chapter outlines the major findings in terms of their importance for the role of the family in Canada, and indicates avenues of further investigation.

Within the limitations imposed at the outset on its content, size and scope, this study is intended to describe some of the most recent Canadian census data on household and family units, using the simplest statistical measures and techniques. Census data on individuals and vital statistics on births, marriages, divorces and deaths are used or referred to at various points to illustrate and round out the description of trends and characteristics based mainly on the examination of the census data for household and family units.¹ More rigorous statistical and analytical techniques, as well as other available relevant data on households and families, have had to be ignored. The impact of the basic demographic processes and other related aspects of the changing Canadian scene are not examined separately in terms of their effects upon households and families, but are noted, as appropriate, at relevant points throughout the text. Nevertheless, examination of materials presented permits us to answer certain broad questions, more and more frequently posed, about the role and condition of the contemporary family in Canada, the changes it seems to be undergoing, and its prospects for the future.

To this end, some of the questions to which the study addresses itself are:

What have been the effects upon household and family formation of recent demographic trends such as the improvements in longevity; the post-Second World War baby boom and the more recent decrease in fertility; the changing age distributions of males and females?

What have been the recent changes in the average size of households and families? How have such changes been related to the recent changes in the size distributions of households and families?

What are the implications of the recent increases in separation and divorce among the young, and the greater velocity of family formation due to increased marital dissolution and remarriage? What have been the effects of the increase in illegitimacy during the 1960's and the greater visibility during the 1960's and early 1970's of families with never-married parents?

What have been the recent changes in the living arrangements of families and of individuals? Of what importance is the continuing undoubling of families, that is, the termination of sharing dwelling facilities, and the recent marked undoubling of individuals from family households?

What are the implications of the recent marked growth of non-family households and of the non-family population? Is the family competing with other quite different kinds of living arrangements and life-styles? Has there been a change in the dependency and attachment of the young, of the old, of males, of females, to their families and family households?

See footnote(s) on page 28.

As a by-product of this study, it is hoped that the research results will provide an objective means of evaluating the definitions and related concepts and practices used in the preparation of the census household and family statistics, and of deciding what specific kinds of household and family data the census should compile, prepare and publish. Any contributions to the evaluation and improvement of these census statistics will more than justify the effort, time and resources this study has entailed.

1.3. The Basic Concepts Used in This Study and the Importance of the Information Based on These Concepts

There are both limitations and advantages to the research use of census data on households and families. These limitations and advantages have been treated in detail elsewhere and need not be repeated here (Wargon, 1972, 1974a; Henry, 1963, 1966, 1968; Chester, 1976).

Generally speaking, it can be said that the limitations arise from the nature of the census itself, as an instrument designed for the collection and preparation of administrative rather than research data. In spite of these limitations, the advantages of the Canadian census data in research on household and family units are apparent in the concepts of the household and family used in the census, and in the breadth and depth of the statistics compiled on the basis of those concepts, because the federal census covers the nation.

The federal decennial and quinquennial censuses are taken on a *de jure* basis, and persons are enumerated in terms of their usual residence as of the census reference date. The concepts of dwelling, household and census family, in the Canadian census, refer therefore to residential units. As a general rule, the household serves as the basic unit of enumeration in the census, and households are located and defined according to the dwelling within which the person or persons making up the household usually reside. In the 1971 Census, dwelling referred to:

"... a structurally separate set of living quarters with a private entrance from outside, or from a common hallway or stairway inside the building, i.e., the entrance must not be through someone else's living quarters." (Canada, 1973b)

Household was defined in the 1971 Census as:

"... a person or group of persons occupying one dwelling. It usually consists of a family group with or without lodgers, employees, etc. However, it may consist of two or more families sharing a dwelling, of a group of unrelated persons or of one person living alone." (Canada, 1973b)

Therefore, the 1971 household data can tell us how many Canadians live alone, how many live together in families formed through conjugal or blood ties or adoption, and how many live in non-family groups of persons sharing the same dwelling. An important feature of the Canadian household data is their breakdown by family and non-family type.

Individual persons are enumerated, for the most part, as members of households.² Answers to a question on relationship to the head of the household, in combination with the answers to the questions on age, sex and marital status,

See footnote(s) on page 28.

CHART 1.1. Definition Bases for Household in the Census of Canada, 1901 - 71¹

Year	Population	Censuses of housing	Prairie provinces ²
1901	Housekeeping community		
1911	Housekeeping community		
1916			Housekeeping community
1921	Housekeeping community		
1926			Housekeeping community
1931	Housekeeping community		
1936			Housekeeping community
1941	Housekeeping community	Living together in same dwelling ³	
1946			Housekeeping community
1951	Living together in same dwelling	Living together in same dwelling ⁴	
1956	Living together in same dwelling		
1961	Living together in same dwelling	Living together in same dwelling ⁵	
1966	Living together in same dwelling	Living together in same dwelling ⁶	
1971	Living together in same dwelling	Living together in same dwelling ⁷	

¹ Only the very basic part of the definitions are given in this table. It does not include other material which in some cases make the definitions unequal. While there seems to be a clear-cut definitional distinction, the reader is advised to consult Appendix A for complete definitions.

² The census of the Prairie provinces (Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta) was taken only in the years 1916, 1926, 1936 and 1946.

³ Taken on a 10% sample basis (1941b).

⁴ Taken on a 20% sample basis (1951b).

⁵ Taken on a 20% sample basis (1961b).

⁶ Same coverage as the 1966 Census of Population (1966).

⁷ Same coverage as the 1971 Census of Population (1971).

Source: Household in the Canadian Census: Definitions and Data, Working Paper (Demographic and Socio-Economic Series) No. 16, Census Field, Statistics Canada, 1973, by D. Loken.

CHART 1.2. Family Membership as Defined in Each Census,¹ 1871 - 1971

Relationship to head of family ²	Census						
	1971	1966	1961	1956	1951	1941	
Husband or father.	x	x	x	x	x	x	
Wife or mother	x	x	x	x	x	x	
Unmarried children under 25 years ³	x ⁴	x ⁴	x ⁴	x ⁴	x ⁴	x ⁴	
Unmarried children 25 years and over ³	x ⁵	x ⁵	x ⁵	x ⁵	x ⁵	x ⁵	
Married children ³	6	6	6	6	6	6	
Relatives (excluding uncles, sisters)							
Boarders							
Employees							
Other unrelated persons							
	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	1881	1871
Husband or father.	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Wife or mother	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Unmarried children under 25 years ³	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Unmarried children 25 years and over ³	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Married children ³	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Relatives (excluding uncles, sisters)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Boarders			x	x	x	x	x
Employees			x	x	x	x	x
Other unrelated persons ⁿ . . .			x	x	x	x	x

¹ "x" indicates membership in the corresponding census.

² The head of the family is the husband in a husband-wife family or the parent in a one-parent family.

³ Including adopted children and stepchildren.

⁴ Unmarried children under 25 years of age are family members and children in the families.

⁵ Unmarried children 25 years of age and over are considered members in the families, but the statistics regarding age, schooling and occupations of children are shown only for children under 25 years of age. These children are classified as family members, but they are no more considered children in families.

⁶ Married children, regardless of age, are not "family members".

Source: "The Census Definition of Family: 1871-1971." *Population and Housing Research Memorandum*, PH-Fam-1, Ottawa: Census Field, Statistics Canada, 1971, by Hervé Guathier.

provide the means for creating the Canadian census family data, and form the basis for the designation of household members as family or non-family persons. The family, as distinguished from the household, is determined at the data processing stage by grouping individual members of the household according to specific definitions of the family.³ By far the larger part of the census data on families is based on the census family concept that defined the family in 1971 as:

"... a husband and wife (with or without never-married children, regardless of age) or a parent with one or more children who have never married, living in the same dwelling. A family may consist also of a man or woman living with a guardianship child or ward under 21 years for whom no pay was received."
(Canada, 1973a)

Since 1956, the census has also prepared and published data according to the economic family concept, the same definition of the family used in the United States census.⁴ However, this study uses only the statistics compiled on the basis of the census family concept. Some further detailed aspects of these concepts of household and census family are included in Appendix A.

It is difficult to establish for an extended period the precise pattern of change in the size and other characteristics of households and families in Canada. This is because of changes over the years in the definitions for dwelling, household and family and in the tabulation of data based on these concepts.

Charts 1.1 and 1.2 demonstrate that, for census families, there is comparability from 1941 - 71, while for households, exact comparability of definition dates only from 1951. In each case, if one does not adhere too rigidly to the 1941 and 1951 definitions, basic and simple series can be extended back to include the 1931 Census. In view of the limited scope of this study, this has been done only in Chapter 2, which discusses general trends from 1931, and at the other points in the study in a number of tables where information for earlier census years was available, and added considerably to the picture of trends. For the most part, however, only data available on a comparable basis for households, as illustrated in Chart 1.1 and for census families, as illustrated in Chart 1.2, have been used.⁵

It is evident that the comparable trend data for households are rather limited, consisting of very general statistics covering only a short period. Yet the merits of including an examination of any available household data are clear: such household data make possible the investigation of the family and non-family composition of households as well as the examination of the non-family population. Both aspects must be treated if demographic or indeed any social science research on the family is to be adequate.

In summary, it may be said that the concepts of household and census family used in the Canadian census have the advantage of referring to identifiable

See footnote(s) on page 28.

bodies of empirical data, national in scope and with a certain depth of cross-classification, which permits a fairly detailed examination of the numbers, sizes, types and demographic composition of households and families.

The importance of the information based on these concepts in research on households and families is readily explained by reference to the word **empirical** (meaning: relying on factual information or observation, as opposed to theoretical knowledge). The census statistics, like the other "official" body of statistical information, the vital statistics, provide a source of concrete, objective or (to use a more current and colloquial term) "hard" data, the reliability of which can be established and which are available on a national scale. This kind of "hard" data is particularly important in the study of the family, an area of inquiry which has produced little theoretical knowledge and practical understanding of its subject, in spite of a plethora of research. Indeed, one could say that it is no accident that some of the most fruitful contributions to family research and theory in recent decades have been made by analysts — who include sociologists, historians and demographers — using population data and demographic techniques (see Pelletier, et al., 1938; Ogburn and Nimkoff, 1955; Glick, 1957a, 1957b, 1965; Goode, 1963, 1968; Levy, 1965; Collver, 1963; Burch, 1967, 1968, 1970; Laslett, 1969, 1970, 1972; Kobrin, 1973, 1976a, 1976b). These studies, all of which are based either partially or wholly on "official" statistics, demonstrate unequivocally that the use of population data in the study of trends in, and characteristics of, households and families has moved these areas of enquiry out of the realm of philosophy and speculation, where they have remained for so long and into the realm of science.

1.4. The Main Conclusions and Implications

The main conclusions arrived at from examination of the census and related data in this study, and some of their implications, are presented here in summary form.

1. The number of households and census families increased in Canada over the whole period 1931 - 71, although the pattern of increase in relative terms was somewhat different for households than for families. Households showed consistent decennial percentage increases since 1941 - 51, reaching a level of 33.6% in 1951 - 61. This level was essentially maintained in the decade 1961 - 71, with a percentage increase of 32.6%. Census families showed the highest percentage increase in 1941 - 51 at 30.2% but the percentage increase in the number of families declined from that date and was not as high in subsequent decades nor was it as high as that for numbers of households.

Household and family populations also increased consistently over 1941 - 71, the increases being highest in the decade 1951 - 61, due undoubtedly to a sustained high nuptiality and to the post-Second World War baby boom. However, percentage increases in both the household and family populations

dropped during 1961 - 71 from their 1951 - 61 levels. In the case of the household population, this drop was due to the marked increase in smallest size households, particularly those of the non-family one-person type, and to continuing declines in households of largest size. In the case of the census family population, the drop in the level of percentage increase over 1961 - 71 was also due to the increase of units of smallest size and the decrease of units of largest size.

The sharp decline in fertility, which Canada experienced during the 1961 - 71 decade, was a most important factor contributing to these changes in the census family population.

These trends resulted in a decline over the period 1941 - 71 in the average size of households (as measured by the average number of persons) and of census families (as measured by the average number of persons and average number of children). The declines took place despite the effects of the post-war baby boom that caused a temporary rise over 1956 - 66 in the average size of the census family.

Although average household size had always been somewhat higher than the average size of the census family, the average size of the household and of the census family was identical at 3.9 persons at the time of the 1961 Census. However, by 1971, average household size at 3.5 had fallen slightly below the average census family size of 3.7 in that census year. Changes in average size of census families faithfully reflect changes in fertility. Changes in average size of private households reflect such fertility changes to the degree that the private household in this country is identical to the census family. However, average household size fell slightly below that of average family size during 1961 - 71, because of factors associated with changes in households according to family and non-family type. Relevant statistics available since 1951 demonstrate that there was a continuing and fairly consistent growth in absolute and relative terms in one-family households, over the period 1951 - 71, at the expense of multiple-family households. Over the same period, there were marked increases in non-family households: from 1956, for the one-person type, and from 1966, for the multiple-person, but particularly the two-person type. In the case of both households and census families, these changes resulted in an increase in smaller size units and a continuing decrease in larger size units.

In more meaningful terms, the undoubling of families and of individuals from families has resulted in the increasing identification of the nuclear family with the household. At the same time, the growth of non-family households reveals that household formation no longer depends on family formation, to the degree that it did in times past. Therefore, in addition to the increasing identification of the nuclear family with the household in recent decades, we have also been witnessing the growing separation of household formation from family formation.

2. The maintenance of the heightened tempo of household formation over the last two decades has been due to increases in the formation of both family and

non-family households, but particularly the latter. However, such increases have followed certain patterns by age and sex of head. Females in both the youngest and oldest age groups contributed during 1956 - 71 to the high rates of formation of non-family households, particularly the one-person type. For males, it was essentially those in the youngest age groups who contributed to increases in non-family headship and one-person household headship. As to family households, the tempo of increase in headship by the young was not as marked as in the case of non-family households, although increases in family household headship were sufficient to show that young adults continue to marry fairly young, to form family households, and increasingly to form one-family households. Although, for definitional reasons, males (as compared with females) under 35 make up by far the larger number of family household heads, the increase in the headship of family households and of one-family households by females in these younger ages was noteworthy. The headship of family households by males in the ages 65 and over showed some small increase during 1956 - 71. By contrast, there were absolute and relative declines in the headship of family households by females in these oldest ages. This was undoubtedly because elderly widowed or divorced females, with children no longer living at home, have become non-family household heads.

When distributions of family and non-family household heads by age and sex are considered, they would seem to indicate that the trends described above were due to improvements in longevity, the continuing and increasing differential in life expectancy between males and females, and the coming of age of the post-Second World War baby-boom children. However, the use of household headship rates, which remove the effects of an unusual swelling or diminishing of particular age and/or sex groups, has demonstrated that the trends described above represent real changes in the living arrangements of both family and non-family Canadians, quite apart from recent demographic changes in the age-sex structure of the population.

The elderly, particularly females, seem increasingly to favour privacy rather than living with their families. The increase in the number of elderly females living alone has been spectacular. Many of the young, both male and female, also seem inclined to live apart from their families and often alone. Sharper percentage increases in the non-family household headship among the young than among the old over the period 1956 - 71 had the effect of increasing the proportions of non-family heads in the youngest ages, and decreasing the proportions of those in the oldest ages. Nevertheless, in 1971, non-family household heads in the ages over 45 still exceeded substantially, in both absolute and relative terms, those under 45.

During the 1956 - 71 period under discussion, it is highly likely that the increased tendency for the young and the old to live alone was due, among other factors, to: an improved economic situation; health, housing and financial benefits and initiatives provided by governments and other agencies; the availability of small housing units; not needing to contribute to the family household; the

increase in separation and divorce among the young, and possibly the postponement of marriage or the beginnings of non-marriage (or both) by young women. In addition, it may be that elderly females have chosen to live alone because their families no longer need them or no longer have room for them, and possibly because they believe they have some years left to live a life of their own.

Further to the trends in household headship discussed above, it is striking that the improvements in longevity and the coming of age of the post-Second World War baby-boom children have not created a trend towards more generations living together in households. Indeed, the effect has been exactly the opposite. Persons in the main age groupings - infancy, youth, young parenthood, middle age, early old age, old age, etc. - seem to be increasingly segregated from one another in living out their lives. Kobrin, who has examined a similar trend in the United States for the period 1940-70, has concluded that a process of age-segregation is going on, and that there is decreasing tolerance for family forms that include non-nuclear members. This author also predicts that family membership will occur over a more restricted portion of the life cycle, affecting the relationship between the generations and life-cycle patterns of interaction generally (Kobrin, 1976a, 1976b). It remains to be seen whether or not a similar conclusion may be drawn for Canada. Certainly, the recent rapid growth of the one-person non-family living arrangement in Canada, by both young and old, raises the question of what the effects will be on family sentiment and on the values of sharing and caring, that is, the sense of responsibility presumably learned within the traditional family household.

3. Statistics on the demographic composition of Canadian households reveal that heads, wives and children formed a higher proportion of total members of households at each census date from 1956-71. This was due to increases in heads of primary family households, increases in heads of non-family households, and declines in other related and non-related members of households. In addition, over the comparatively short period between 1956-71, there has been an increasing concentration of the household family population within primary families, and a growing concentration of the non-family population in the category of head. Increases in the absolute numbers of family population have been due entirely to the increases in those living in primary families. On the other hand, decreases in the share of the family population relative to the total population in households have been due to the decreases in the share of those living in secondary families, and to the increases in the share of the non-family population, particularly non-family heads. Judging from the changes over the period 1956-71, the non-family population has changed its style of living, from living with others to living alone.

These trends demonstrate again the already noted effects of the undoubling of families, the undoubling of individuals from families and from family households, the growth of the non-family household, particularly of the one-person type, and the increase in the non-family population. There seems to be

a growing emphasis on privacy in the living arrangements of families and individuals. Nuclear families are more likely nowadays to be occupying a household without relatives or non-relatives residing in the same household. But there is some evidence of a recent counter trend, that is, an increase in one-parent family households with others residing in the same household. However, this trend is as yet of too short duration to yield definitive conclusions.

4. It is assumed in this study that the definition of census family used in the Canadian census is an appropriate tool for isolating units distinguishable as families. It is further assumed that the statistics for census families, despite certain acknowledged limitations, represent fairly the facts of family living in this country (Wargon, 1972). As such, they would seem to indicate that the family, although undoubtedly changing in certain respects, retains its traditional role as a basic social institution. But in evaluating the changes taking place in the family, it is necessary to distinguish carefully between the changes in the traditional family form, that is, the actual structure of the family as we know it in this country, and changes in the attitudes and actions of Canadians vis-à-vis this traditional family form.

Canadians still seem to favour traditional family forms and family formation. Marriage, the husband-wife conjugal unit, and the husband-wife and child nuclear unit remain the preferred choices of most. At the same time there are indications of changing attitudes and behaviour. There has been an increase in the velocity of voluntary family dissolution and of family reformation, as reflected in the increase in separation, divorce and remarriage, and in the growth of one-parent families with separated and divorced heads. The number of couples having no children or a smaller number of children seems to be increasing. There has also been an increase in families with never-married parents of illegitimate children.

These changes indicate that more and more, Canadians no longer consider the traditional family form as permanent, life-long, sacrosanct, and mainly oriented towards childbearing and child-rearing. If a marriage does not work or is not satisfactory to one or both partners, it may be dissolved. In many cases, those whose marriages have been dissolved may try again a new relationship with a new partner. However, this does not signify a transformation of the traditional family form; it is rather an increase in the velocity of family formation, pursued along traditional lines. For the time being, this trend may require us to modify our traditional concepts about the stages in the life cycle of individuals and families.

Furthermore, the increase in velocity of family formation has occurred alongside the dramatic growth of non-family households in which persons live alone, or with other non-family or non-related individuals, and the emergence and greater visibility of alternative individual and family life-styles. What does this mean, insofar as conformity and diversity are concerned? After the Second World War, the narrowing and convergence of fertility differentials among the different

regions and certain groups and types of people, and the trends in nuptiality and in family size seemed to indicate some decrease in diversity. This suggested, even given Canada's pluralism, that couples were perhaps conforming to a greater degree to more uniform patterns of marriage and family formation than their predecessors did in the early decades of this century (Canada, 1968; Henripin, 1972). On the other hand, the emergence and growth during the 1950's and 1960's of new types of living arrangements and alternative individual and family life-styles suggest that we are witnessing the development of a greater diversity in individual and family life-styles with a wider range of options and choices, as well as a greater freedom of individuals to choose among them. Nevertheless, the traditional husband-wife, and husband-wife and child unit continues to be the form most frequently chosen by Canadians.

5. There has been a "younging" of family heads over recent decades, due to the declining age at marriage, and the declining age at parenthood. Since the late 1960's, marriages of post-Second World War baby-boom children have contributed to the increase in the relative weight of those in the younger ages in the distribution of census family heads.

The "younging" is most evident among one-parent family (that is, mostly female) heads. However, it is still not certain to what degree this trend is real or intrinsic and to what degree it may have been due to certain problems with the data processing and procedures connected with the production of the 1971 Census marital status data. Although the true magnitude of the trend remains undetermined, there have been obvious changes in the age distribution of one-parent (mainly female) family heads, particularly over the decade 1961 - 71, with a shift away from those in the older ages of widowed marital status toward those in the younger ages who are separated, divorced or never-married.

6. Examination of family size trends and patterns in Canada based on birth statistics has revealed continuing decreases of very large families, a trend of long standing in Canada; the growth in importance of the two-child family; and the stability of moderate-size families, that is, with three and four children. However, over the most recent decade, there were perceptible increases in the percentage of childless women. Furthermore, the rise in the percentage of childless women over 1961 - 71 was sharp for women under 30 years of age. Also the percentage of women under 25 in 1971 with one, two and three children was markedly lower than in 1961.

This trend in births to younger married women is also reflected in the data for family heads in the youngest ages. Demographers in Canada, therefore have been asking these questions: To what degree is the recent drop in marital fertility among the young due to a decline in the ultimate size of the family because young people are choosing to remain childless, or have a smaller total number of children? To what degree is it due to a change in the timing of births by young women who may only be postponing births rather than reducing the ultimate size

of their families? Despite some discussion surrounding these questions in recent years, it becomes increasingly clear that ultimate family size is declining, and that the convergence on the two-child family may become even more pronounced than it is at present. Such a trend has already been noted and described for the United States (Ryder, 1974). Although declining family size is part of the change in the attitudes of Canadians towards childbearing and child-rearing, a further question that must be asked and answered here is: Does this trend constitute a weakening of the traditional mother-father-and-child family form?

From a purely statistical point of view, the two-child family can be regarded as a small family, since it indicates that a population is reproducing itself at the replacement level only. However, the continued predominance of the two-child family in Canada over the last decade, as revealed in the census data, and the perceptible movement away from families of three and four children towards families of smaller size, must be considered in the light of some other demographic and social aspects before it is stated that Canadians are less interested in families with children. It is the view taken here that the decline in ultimate size of families measured according to number of children does not constitute a significant change in the attitude of Canadians towards the role and importance of families with children in society. There are a number of reasons for this view. First, the attainment of maturity of the children born during the baby-boom era of the 1940's and 1950's has certain important implications for fertility levels and for population growth in this country in the near future. Although the rate of population growth is approaching replacement level, it will take some time before zero population growth is achieved, because more young people are arriving at the marriageable and family formation ages at the present time. Second, a certain number of couples continue to have three, four and even more children, although judging from the 1971 Census data on the childbearing of younger married women, such couples seem to be a declining proportion of the total. Third, while modern contraceptive methods and the availability of abortion provide the means for remaining childless, family planning practices and programs in Canada are still fundamentally pro-family: they are conceived and publicized as aids to planning a desired number of children, spaced according to the life plan, income, etc., of the couple rather than as a means for entirely eliminating families with children. Indeed, one important aspect of fertility trends after the Second World War was a dramatic decline in childlessness. This took place during a period when increasingly effective birth control methods became readily available and popular. Fourth, improvements in controlling mortality rates have increased the probability of children growing to adulthood.

Viewed from this vantage point, a two-child family is not a small family. In some developing countries, even at the present time, more than two births are required to assure that a couple will see two children survive to adulthood. And lastly, couples continue to adopt children and continue to want to do so. Unfortunately, there is little information on adoption in Canada — extent, trends, etc. So it is impossible to know to what degree the adoption of children in this country has enlarged small families, that is, those families which otherwise would have remained childless, or with one child only (Wargon, 1974a).

7. Recent trends in fertility, that is, the post-Second World War baby boom, and the more recent drastic decline in fertility since the early 1960's have had direct effects upon the age distributions of children in census families. Children in census families have been getting older because of declines in the number of children in the youngest ages, and the swelling of children in the 6 - 14 and 15 - 24 age ranges. The increases in the oldest age group of children in census families over the most recent decade represent the natural coming of age of the large cohorts of children born during the baby-boom years after the Second World War. Increases in the number of children 15 - 24 in full-time attendance at school over 1961 - 71 are attributable not only to the greater number of such children living at home in census families, but also to heightened levels of school attendance over the same decade for young adults in these ages, particularly for those in the 20 - 24 age range.

8. Improvements in controlling the mortality of adults had the effect of increasing, to about 1966, the number of children living with two parents. This means that children had the advantage of two parents as they grew into early adulthood. However, between 1961 and 1971, there was an increase in the proportions of children living in families headed by lone parents and particularly by lone-parent female heads in the younger ages. This was the consequence of marital dissolution among the young. It means that children recently have been increasingly "exposed" in their earliest formative years to living in families with one parent whose marriage had been dissolved by separation or divorce, or who voluntarily chose never-married parenthood. Unfortunately, it is not possible to determine, on the basis of the available data, the number of children who have grown up in families based on first marriages, and how many have been "affected" by marital dissolution, and by the subsequent remarriage of one or both parents.

Assessment of the effects on children of voluntary marriage dissolution (as contrasted with the involuntary dissolution of marriage due to death) and of the greater velocity of family breakdown and reformation in recent years is a subject to which sociologists of the family should be giving more attention.

9. In 1941, after a period of low birth rates, the median age of children in census families was 11.2 years. Due to high birth rates after the Second World War extending well into the 1950's, the median age of Canadian children declined to 9.1 in 1951 and to 9.0 in 1956. Children in Canadian census families, however, have been getting older since that date because of the decline in fertility that began in the late 1950's, and the coming of age of the large number of children born during the post-Second World War baby-boom period. In 1971, the median age of children in census families was 10.9 years.

The median age of heads of husband-wife families (that is, of male heads) rose in 1941 to 44.4 years from its 1931 level of 43.9 years, reflecting the postponement of marriage during the 1930's. Increased nuptiality and the concomitant lowering of the age at marriage during and after the Second World

War brought the median age of heads of husband-wife families down in 1951 and 1956 to 43.0 years. Since that time, the median age of heads of such families has remained fairly stable, with only slight rises in the census years from 1961 - 71. The rise is probably because improved longevity has left more two-parent families intact.

On the other hand, the median age of mostly female heads of one-parent families has shown more pronounced changes over the period 1931 - 71. The drop from 54.1 years in 1931 to 50.5 years in 1941 was undoubtedly attributable to conditions associated with the war. The median age of heads of one-parent families rose to 54.6 in 1951, and again to 54.8 in 1956, but has been declining ever since. It experienced a particularly sharp drop over 1966-71 when the median age of heads of one-parent families declined from 51.8 to 47.4. This drop would seem to be traceable in part to the already mentioned "younging" of one-parent family heads who are mostly females.

These trends in median age must be treated cautiously when describing the relationship between the ages of children and family heads in families, since they may mask a certain selectivity in the ages of children in two-parent as compared with one-parent families. Nevertheless, it may be noted that the differential between the ages of children and family heads seems to be narrowing.

10. It should be kept in mind that many of the trends and patterns of change in the characteristics described in this study developed during a period of relative affluence lasting well into the 1970's. It remains to be seen whether current and anticipated economic conditions in this country will result in fundamental alterations in marriage and family formation, and in family and individual life-styles and living arrangements as did the economic crises and hard times during the 1930's.

FOOTNOTES

¹ The most important sources of population statistics used in demographic research, including the demographic study of household and family units, are the periodic federal censuses of population, that give us census data; also civil registration systems that yield vital statistics. The advantages of these two main sources of official statistics for demographic research are the breadth and depth of the data they make available because both systems cover the country.

In Canada, data are available from the large decennial federal censuses taken in the years ending in the numeral "1". These censuses are able to provide a wealth of data, in considerable depth and detail, for individuals, households, families, housing and agriculture, since it is possible to cross-classify the information on any one population characteristic, such as age, by any other characteristics for which the census obtains information. Statistical data are also available from the smaller quinquennial censuses taken in the years ending in the numeral "6". Traditionally, their scope has been limited, with fewer questions asked. However, the 1976 Census was more comprehensive than previous quinquennial censuses, and included questions on education, migration, and labour force. (For a history of the Canadian federal census and for general information on the scope and coverage of the census, see Canada, 1961.)

The statistics referring to vital life events, called vital statistics, have been published since 1921 in annual reports by Statistics Canada (known up to 1971 as the Dominion Bureau of Statistics). These reports contain statistics on births, marriages and divorces, sickness and death, for Canada and the provinces. Owing to Quebec's late entry into the system, information for this province was incorporated into these annual reports only from 1926. However, a number of the subsequent annual reports now include the relevant statistics for Quebec, commencing with 1921. While vital statistics cannot be cross-classified in the same detail possible with the decennial census data, they are available on an annual basis and thus can be usefully employed to fill in the picture revealed by census data. For a history of the system of the production of national vital statistics, see Canada, 1948 - 49, page 185. Further detail on the scope and coverage of the national vital statistics system in Canada may be found in the Introduction to the Annual Reports, *Vital Statistics*, Statistics Canada, Catalogue 84-202.

In addition, specific types of population data useful in demographic research are also collected and compiled on the basis of sample surveys providing various kinds of population data. In Canada, some very useful statistics on household and family units are available from Statistics Canada's Labour Force Survey (Canada, 1966) and Consumer Finance Survey (Canada, 1972). Two Canadian studies based on sample surveys (Balakrishnan, *et al.*, 1975; Henripin and Lapierre-Adamcyk, 1975) demonstrate the efficacy of such surveys in providing certain types of data on household and family units that cannot be obtained from the usual sources of official statistics.

² For exceptions to this general rule, see Form 3 as reproduced on page 42 of Canada, 1974a, and the explanation given for its use on page 9 of the same bulletin.

³ In the 1971 Census, grouping of individual members of the population into family units was carried out by both manual and mechanical operations, but before edit and imputation routines were applied. Planning for the 1976 Census included a completely computerized procedure for grouping individuals into families after edits and imputations have been carried out. See Viveash and Harrison, 1973.

⁴ In the Canadian census, economic families are defined as two or more persons residing in the same household and related by blood, marriage, or adoption. For sources and further detailed discussion of this and other family definitions used in the census, see: Gauthier, 1971; Wargon, 1971, 1972, 1974a; Canada, 1959, 1967a, 1972.

⁵ Certain technical aspects of the 1971 family and household data presented in the trend tables will be of particular interest. Some of the 1971 Census data differ from the data for previous census years in that they are weighted sample data and not 100% counts. For

more information on the differences between the 1971 100% and weighted sample data, see Appendix B, "The 1971 Household, Family and Population Data", and Wargon, 1976a. The sources provided for each table will permit users to determine whether 1971 100% counts, or weighted sample data have been used.



CHAPTER 2

SOME MAJOR FEATURES OF RECENT GENERAL TRENDS IN HOUSEHOLDS AND IN CENSUS FAMILIES IN CANADA

2.1. Historical Trends, Canada, 1901 - 31

As already noted in Chapter 1, changes over the years in the definitions for household and family and in the tabulation of data make it difficult to establish precisely the pattern of change in the size and other characteristics of households and families in Canada for an extended period. See Charts 1.1 and 1.2. Nevertheless, a brief review of the historical changes in the number and average size of households is presented here for the period 1901 - 31, to bring some perspective to the discussion of the more recent growth trends.

An early census monograph, *The Canadian Family* (Pelletier, *et al.*, 1938), presents on page 41 historical statistics for the total population, number of households and average number of persons per household, for the period 1666 - 1931. It also provides the figures for population, households and average size of household for the years 1901 - 31. The year 1901 has been chosen as the point of departure here, since figures for this and subsequent years in the early monograph refer to Canada exclusive only of the Yukon and Northwest Territories. They therefore approximate more closely than the statistics for earlier years the geographical territory for which the figures in Table 2.1 A have been compiled. Over the 30-year period between 1901 and 1931, the population just about doubled, rising from close to 5,324,000 to almost 10,363,000. The number of all households more than doubled, rising from about 1,058,600 in 1901 to about 2,277,000 in 1931. Therefore, the average household size, as measured by the average number of persons per household, declined from 5.03 in 1901 to 4.55 in 1931. As described in detail in the early monograph, *The Canadian Family*, from which these figures have been taken, this decline in average household size was due to a number of reasons. The more important ones were: a gradually declining fertility and the consequent changing age composition of the population; the movement of population from the more thickly settled to the developing parts of the country, causing the splitting up of larger households; and urbanization (Pelletier, *et al.*, 1938, pp. 43 - 51 and 58 - 61).

2.2. Trends in Numbers and in Percentage Change, by Decade, in Households and Families, and in Total, Household and Census Family Populations, Canada, 1931 - 71

Reasonably comparable data presented in Tables 2.1 A and 2.1 B permit us to trace the general outlines of trends in the growth of the population, households and census families, and in the total, household and census family populations over the 40-year period spanning the decennial censuses from 1931 - 71.

In the description of trends that follows, the role played by the basic demographic processes – fertility, nuptiality, migration and mortality – is briefly noted, where relevant.¹ Other aspects of the changing scene which would be examined in a more detailed account of trends than is possible here are: the considerable urbanization of the population, caused by the continuing shift of population from rural areas (Stone, 1967, 1969; George, 1970); the transformation of Canada's economy in its industrial, occupational and labour force structure, and in particular the substantial increases over recent decades in the labour force participation of women (Ostry, 1967, 1968; Denton, 1970); changes in the types and quality of the housing stock available to Canadians (Kalbach and McVey, 1971); the buoyancy of the economy for a considerable period after the Second World War, that brought with it a certain affluence for some and for others, if not affluence, then at least an illusion of affluence due to easy credit and instalment buying; and related social, economic and cultural factors. However, detailed accounts of these aspects of our society cannot be given here, but must be sought in the various references cited.

Total population and family population, and number of private households grew at increasing rates as measured by percentage increase² for each of the first three decades of the 40-year period under consideration, and experienced highest rates of growth during 1951 - 61. On the other hand, the percentage increase in the number of census families was highest during 1941 - 51 at 30.2% and declined to 26.2% in 1951 - 61. During 1961 - 71, rates of growth declined from previous levels for all factors considered in Table 2.1 B. However, for number of households, the decline during this last decade was negligible, from 33.6% in 1951 - 61 to 32.6% in 1961 - 71, indicating that the growth rate of the previous decade was substantially maintained.

The population of Canada more than doubled over the period 1931 - 71, from close to 10,500,000 to slightly more than 21,500,000. The addition of more than 11,100,000 persons represented an increase of more than 100%. Percentage increases of 10.9% during 1931 - 41 and 21.8% in 1941 - 51 were surpassed in the decade 1951 - 61 when the total population increased 30.2%. In absolute numbers, more than 4,200,000 Canadians, that is, more than double the increase of some 2,000,000 added during the 10 years between 1941 and 1951, were added during 1951 - 61. During 1961 - 71, the growth rate of the total population was lower than in the 1951 - 61 and the 1941 - 51 decades.

The number of persons in private households, that is, the household population,³ also increased over 1931 - 71, as may be seen in Table 2.1 A. But in 1961 - 71, despite continued increases in absolute numbers, there was a fall in the percentage increase from levels in 1951 - 61, directly paralleling the changes in the total and family populations. This is to be expected, since the difference between the total population and the private household population is small, consisting mainly of persons residing in collective households.⁴ The figures given

See footnote(s) on page 50.

TABLE 2.1 A. Total Population, Private Households, Census Families, Average Number of Persons per Private Household and Average Number of Persons and Children per Census Family, Canada,¹ 1931 - 71

Census year	Total population ²	Private households		
		Total ³	Persons ⁴	Average number of persons
1931	10,362,833	2,252,729	10,015,779	4.4
1941	11,489,263	2,575,744	..	4.3
1951	14,009,429	3,409,284	13,572,465	4.0
1956	16,080,791	3,923,646	15,447,656	3.9
1961	18,238,247	4,554,736	17,612,145	3.9
1966	20,014,880	5,180,473	19,405,615	3.7
1971	21,568,310	6,041,305	21,033,625	3.5
	Census families			
	Total ⁵	Persons ⁵	Average number of persons	Average number of children ⁶
1931	2,149,048	8,971,311	4.2	..
1941	2,525,299	9,937,986	3.9	1.9
1951	3,287,384	12,216,103	3.7	1.7
1956	3,711,500	14,077,213	3.8	1.8
1961	4,147,444	16,095,721	3.9	1.9
1966	4,526,266	17,681,728	3.9	1.9
1971	5,070,680	18,852,110	3.7	1.7

¹ Includes Newfoundland from 1951.

² Includes Yukon and Northwest Territories from 1951 for all factors considered except 1951 households.

³ Figures for all years exclude collective households.

⁴ The number of private households is equal to the number of occupied dwellings for 1956; hence, the number of persons in occupied dwellings is used.

⁵ These figures for 1931 are not exactly comparable to those for the other census years, due to differences in definition. A crude adjustment of the number of families in 1931, to exclude 270,312 one-person families, and of the number of persons in families in 1931, to exclude 104,572 dependents other than wives and children, gives the figures used here, and the resulting average size of family of 4.2. The latter can be considered as approximating fairly the average size of family in Canada in 1931, if it had been defined according to the "Census family" definition adopted in 1941.

⁶ Number of children refers to children 24 years and under enumerated at home.

.. Figures not available.

Source: 1931 Census of Canada, Vol. V, Tables 57 and 86; 1941 Census of Canada, Vol. V, Tables 1, 4 and 19; Vol. IX, Tables 7 and 9b; 1951 Census of Canada, Vol. III, Table 3; Vol. X, Tables 1 and 86, and Table XII, page 369; 1956 Census of Canada, Vol. I, Tables 33, 43 and 47; Vol. III, Table 1, page 1-16; 1966 Census of Canada, Vol. I, Table 1; 1971 Census of Canada, Bulletin 2.1-2, Table 1; Bulletin 2.2-2, Table 1; Bulletin 2.2-3, Table 13, Advance Bulletin A, H-1, Table 1.

TABLE 2.1 B. Percentage Change, Intercensal Periods and Average Annual Percentage Change, Canada, 1931-41 to 1961-71

Intercensal period	Total population	Private households	Persons in private households	Census families	Persons in census families
Percentage change, intercensal periods					
1931-41	10.9	14.3	..	17.5	10.8
1941-51	21.8	32.4	..	30.2	22.9
1951-56	14.8	15.1	13.8	12.9	15.2
1956-61	13.4	16.1	14.0	11.7	14.3
1951-61	30.2	33.6	29.8	26.2	31.8
1961-66	9.7	13.7	10.2	9.1	9.9
1966-71	7.8	16.6	8.4	12.0	6.6
1961-71	18.3	32.6	19.4	22.3	17.1
Average annual percentage change					
1931-41	1.1	1.4	..	1.8	1.1
1941-51	2.2	3.2	..	3.0	2.3
1951-56	3.0	3.0	2.8	2.6	3.0
1956-61	2.7	3.2	2.8	2.3	2.9
1951-61	3.0	3.4	2.9	2.6	3.2
1961-66	1.9	2.7	2.0	1.8	2.0
1966-71	1.6	3.3	1.7	2.4	1.3
1961-71	1.8	3.3	1.9	2.2	1.7

.. Figures not available.

Source: Table 2.1 A.

in Table 2.1 A demonstrate that the private household population makes up more than 95% of the total population. Although the total family population (that is, the number of persons who were reported as living in the census families) is smaller in size than the population in private households, it nevertheless makes up a considerable proportion of the total population and always has. Over the period under consideration, at each census date more than two thirds of the total population were reported as living in census families. From 86.5% in both 1931 and 1941, the family population as a percentage of the total population increased slightly and gradually in each subsequent census year to 87.1% in 1951, 87.5% in 1956, 88.2% in 1961, reaching a high of 88.3% in 1966, then declining slightly to 87.4% in 1971. This slight decline in the relative size of the family population, reported in 1971, was primarily due to the decline in the child population, already noted, and to the growth in the non-family population. The trend in the percentage increase of the census family population over the four decades, represented in Table 2.1 B, resembled that for the total and private household populations, consistently increasing over the first three decades of the 1931 - 71 period, then declining during 1961 - 71.

The number of private households showed consistent and considerable increases at each census date between 1931 and 1971. During 1951 - 61, the gain was more than 1,000,000. During 1961 - 71, an addition of almost 1,500,000 to the total number of private households in 1961 represented a percentage increase of more than 32%. This indicates that the rather high rate of increase noted in 1951 - 61 was sustained during the most recent decade. It is of some interest that, in the two five-year periods making up the decade 1961 - 71, increases in the growth rates of private households were greater in the second half of the decade than during the first half, so there has been no abatement of the growth.

The number of families increased from close to 2,150,000 in 1931⁵ to more than 2,500,000 in 1941. An addition of about 762,000 families in 1941 - 51 to the 1941 total brought the number of families to about 3,287,400 in 1951. In percentage increase terms, this represented the highest growth rate in the number of families for all periods represented in Table 2.1 B. During 1951 - 61, an addition of almost 860,000 families brought the 1951 total up to more than 4,000,000. However, the percentage increase of 26.2% over this 10-year period was lower than in the previous decade. During 1961 - 71, although the absolute number of families increased more than 900,000, the rate of increase at 22.3% was lower than in the previous two decades.

Percentage changes for intercensal periods given in Table 2.1 B reveal that, as to magnitude and direction of growth, there were certain differences between the growth of the total, family and household populations, and the growth in the number of households and families, during each intercensal period treated in this table.

For the first two decades of this period 1931 - 41 and 1941 - 51, there were higher percentage increases both for number of households and families than for the total, household and family populations. Another way of expressing this would be to say that the rates of household and family growth exceeded the growth in the total, household and family populations during these two decades. We know that, generally speaking, the decade of the 1930's was characterized by the postponement of marriage and the postponement of births. The percentage increase in the number of families over 1931 - 41 at 17.5% exceeded that for both the total and family populations, indicating that the postponement of births was probably a factor of greater importance than marriage delay.

A significant rise in the proportion of the population married in the decade 1941 - 51 is reflected in increases of 32.4% in the number of households and 30.2% in the number of families over this decade, surpassing the percentage increases for the total and family populations. The lesser rates of growth of the total and family populations indicate that the effects of the increased propensity to marry and to establish households and families were not yet fully reflected in terms of a larger child population, and so in the size of families.

See footnote(s) on page 50.

During 1951 - 61, total, household and family populations, and number of households experienced the most rapid rates of growth of any decade. But the rate of growth of census families was down from its 1941 - 51 level. It is noteworthy that during 1951 - 61, for the first time in the 30-year period spanning the census years 1931 - 61, the total and family populations grew faster than the number of census families, reversing the trend noted above. On the other hand, for households, the pattern of the previous decades continued, with higher rates of growth in number of households than in total and household populations. Insofar as the pattern for families is concerned, the higher growth rates of the total and family populations than of families, evident in both five-year periods making up the 1951 - 61 decade, obviously reflect continuing high fertility and additions to the child population. Note the increase in the average number of children in census families from 1.7 in 1951 to 1.9 in 1961, as shown in the last column of Table 2.1 A.

Immigration also contributed to the trends described above. Since this was the decade in which net migration made its most marked contributions to population growth, mostly due to high immigration, the nature of immigration during the post-war period deserves some comment. The pre-Second World War migrants were preponderantly young, male and unmarried. They were followed in the post-Second World War immigration streams by larger numbers of women and children accompanying male adults in the family-building ages, that is, by young families (Kalbach, 1970). The impact on trends presented in Table 2.1 A can easily be inferred. However, although the age, sex and marital status composition of post-war immigrants undoubtedly contributed to the increase in the number of families and in the average number of children per census family from 1.7 in 1951 to 1.9 in 1961, immigration was less important as a factor in this trend than fertility. Along with concurrent trends in nuptiality, fertility played a major role in household and family formation, and in family building during 1951 - 61.

As noted above, percentage increases in the number of households during 1951 - 61 continued to be higher than those for the total and household populations. As in previous decades, this pattern continued during 1961 - 71, with a sustained high rate of growth of the number of households at 32.6% for the whole decade, but less accelerated rates of growth for the total and household populations. Of some interest are the percentage increases for the two five-year periods making up the 1961 - 71 decade. As may be seen in Table 2.1 B, total population and household population growth were lower in the second half than in the first half of the decade. Yet the percentage increase in the number of households was higher in the second half. Undoubtedly, continuing urbanization and more and smaller dwelling units contributed to this trend.

At this point, some mention of mortality trends is appropriate, since the sustained high growth rates of households over the last half of the 1951 - 61 decade were also influenced by such trends. In Canada, both males and females in all age groups have shown improvements in survival and life expectancy over the period 1931 - 71, with obvious implications for the growth of total, household

and family populations. Not only the considerable improvements in infantile and maternal mortality but also substantial improvements in survival among the older population have influenced population growth at all points along the age scale. However, improvements in survival have been greater among females than among males, the size of the difference being particularly marked for those aged 40 and over. The greater reduction in death rates among females in these ages has been reflected in the prominent growth of one-person non-family households with female heads.

During 1961 - 71, the growth rates of the total and family populations were lower than in 1951 - 61 and in 1941 - 51. They were also lower than the growth rate of number of families, which was 22.3%. In 1961 - 66, the total population, the family population and the number of families grew at about the same rate, ranging from 9.1% for number of families to 9.7% and 9.9% for total and family populations, respectively. These rates were lower than any recorded for the previous intercensal periods in Table 2.1 B. This reflects, in part, the fact that fewer women and men born in the 1930's and early 1940's reached the marriageable and family formation ages in the second half of the 1951 - 61 decade, and in the early 1960's. In addition to the smaller proportion of the female population ever married in the younger age groups, the 1960's witnessed sharp declines in marital fertility, attributable mainly to the declines in childbearing among the youngest married women. The effects on family and child population growth are obvious and may be seen in Table 2.1 B. The tendency for young people to delay childbearing, or to build smaller families, or both, is evident in the differences over 1966 - 71 in the percentage increases for number of families, total population and census family population. The 12.0% rise in number of families exceeded the 7.8 percentage increase for the total population, and was almost twice that for the family population, which was reported at 6.6% for this 1966 - 71 period.

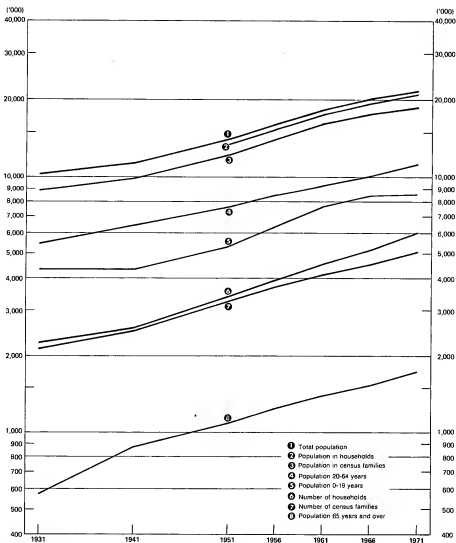
2.3. Trends in Households and in Census Families, in Relation to Trends in the Population 0 - 19, 20 - 64 and 65 and Over, Canada, 1931 - 71

In the context of the changes described in the foregoing sections, it is of interest to examine in Chart 2.1 the trends in the growth of the total, household and census family populations, and in the number of households and census families. Also shown in this chart are lines depicting the trends in the growth of the population in the broad age groups 0 - 19, 20 - 64 and 65 and over. The ratios presented in Table 2.2 relate to the description of the trends depicted in Chart 2.1.

The sustained and greater growth in household than in census family formation, particularly since 1956, are clearly illustrated by the widening gap between the curves for number of households and number of census families. The ratios of census families to private households presented in the first column of

Chart - 2.1

Total Population by Broad Age Groups, Population in Households and Census Families and Number of Households and Census Families, Canada, 1931-71



Source: Table 2.1(e) and 1971 Census of Canada. Bul. F-2-3, Catalogue no. 92-715, Table 7

TABLE 2.2. Ratios of Census Families, Population Aged 0 - 19, 20 - 64 and 65 Years and Over per Household, Canada,¹ 1931 - 71

Census year	Ratios			
	Census family per household	Population 0 - 19 years per household	Population 20 - 64 years per household	Population 65 years and over per household
1931	0.95	1.92	2.43	0.26
1941	0.98	1.68	2.49	0.30
1951	0.96	1.56	2.23	0.32
1956	0.95	1.63	2.15	0.32
1961	0.91	1.67	2.02	0.31
1966	0.87	1.63	1.94	0.30
1971	0.84	1.41	1.88	0.29

¹ Newfoundland, Yukon and Northwest Territories are excluded in 1931 and 1941.

Source: Same as source for Table 2.1 A; and 1971 Census of Canada, Bulletin 1.2 - 3, Table 7.

Table 2.2 depict the growing separation of household formation from family formation, that is, the fact that household formation today depends less and less upon family formation.

Also of interest are the figures in the other columns of Table 2.2 that present ratios of the population in each of the three broad age groups 0 - 19, 20 - 64 and 65 and over, to the number of private households.

The ratios of the population 0 - 19 to private households reflect recent trends in fertility as well as the effects of family undoubling. In particular, the increases in the ratios in 1956 and 1961 reflect the increases in the child population in the decade of the 1950's. The drop in the ratio from 1966 - 71 to a low of 1.41 is explained by the steep decline in fertility during this five-year period. Note how the curve for the population 0 - 19 in Chart 2.1 flattens out between 1966 and 1971. This is attributable to the sharply reduced fertility in this period and to the absolute declines in the child population in the youngest ages. Whereas the population in the early adult ages has been increasing, due to the coming of age of the children born during the higher fertility years after the Second World War and during the decade of the 1950's, this rise has not been sufficient to offset the decline in fertility.

The consistent declines in the ratios of the population 20 - 64 to the number of households as seen in Column 3 of Table 2.2 reflect the decreases since 1941 in household size, when the size is measured on the basis of the adult or the main household forming sector of Canada's population. The movement of the ratios in the last column of Table 2.2 is also of considerable interest. The increase over its 1931 level in the ratio of the population 65 and over to the number of private households, as shown for the Census years 1941, 1951 and 1956, can undoubtedly be attributed to the greater numbers of older persons. However, the small but consistent declines in the ratio as shown for Census years 1961, 1966 and 1971, despite continued increases both absolutely and relatively of the population in this oldest age group, are in all probability attributable to the increase in household formation among the older population, that is, to the greater number of households in relation to the older population.

2.4. Trends in the Average Size of Households and of Census Families, Canada, 1931 - 71

The changes in population, households and families described in the foregoing sections are also highlighted in the pattern of change in the average size of households and census families over the 1931 - 71 period.

The movement from 1931 - 71 in the average size of households measured according to the average number of persons can be examined in Table 2.1 A, alongside the corresponding movement in the average size of families, measured according to the average number of persons and the average number of children. As may be seen in Table 2.1 A, the average size of households was somewhat higher than that for families from 1931 - 51. By 1961, the average size of households and census families stood at the same level. However, over 1961 - 71, there was a slightly greater decline in the average size of households than of families.

Average number of persons per private household decreased consistently with each census year for which figures are given in Table 2.1. Average household size moved from 4.4 in 1931 to 4.3 in 1941 and then to 4.0 in 1951, and remained fairly stable over 1951 - 61. In 1956, average household size at 3.9 was only slightly lower than in 1951 and it remained at that level in 1961. The decade of the 1960's, however, witnessed further declines in average household size to 3.7 in 1966 and then to 3.5 in 1971. Hence, in the year of the 1971 Census, average household size was smaller by almost one person than it was in 1931. These figures illustrate a trend that was the inevitable result of greater increases in the number of private households than in the number of persons in private households over the period being considered, a trend that was particularly prominent over 1961 - 71. The maintenance of high growth rates in the number of private households over the decade of the 1960's was due to the high rates of growth of non-family households, especially of the one-person type. This explains the much more prominent rate of growth of the number of households than of the household population, as reported in 1971 and recorded in Table 2.1 B.

The decline in the average size of the household by almost one person is not surprising except when considered in relation to the changes in the average size of the census family over the same period. The average number of persons per family declined from 4.2 in 1931 to 3.9 in 1941 and reached a low of 3.7 in 1951, indicating that the increased rate of family formation noted during 1941 - 51 was not yet reflected in terms of a larger number of children in families. This is further confirmed by the drop in the average number of children per census family from 1.9 in 1941 to 1.7 in 1951. Another way of expressing this would be to say that during the 1940's, and particularly in the years following the Second World War, family formation because of the increase in marriage was more important than births as a factor influencing family size. In 1956, however, average family size increased to 3.8 and rose again to 3.9 in 1961 at which level it remained in 1966. The decline in average family size to 3.7 in 1971 was largely traceable to the decline in fertility during 1961 - 71. This is revealed too in the decline in the average number of children per census family to 1.7 in 1971 from the 1961 level of 1.9.

As the figures in Table 2.1 A indicate, the movements in the average number of persons resemble those for the average number of children in census families, demonstrating the degree to which the size of the census family since 1951 has been affected by trends in fertility. But this is not so for the average size of the household that fell from about 4.0 in 1951 to about 3.5 in 1971, the major drop being in the one decade 1961 - 71. So, while average household size and average family size at 3.9 were the same in 1961, average household size 10 years later at about 3.5 was slightly below that for average family size at 3.7. The slightly greater fall in average household size than in average family size over 1961 - 71 can be attributed in large part to changes in the growth of the different component types of households, and particularly to the growth of non-family households of the one-person type.

Before leaving the subject of trends in average household size, as depicted in Table 2.1 A, it is important to note that these averages are merely general summary figures, representing the combined results of many demographic, social and other changes over a 40-year period.

Indeed, the interplay of the considerable changes in fertility and in mortality over the period 1931 - 71 are not visible in these summary figures for average household size given in Table 2.1 A. For example, when the changes in these averages, as described above, are considered in the light of the absolute increases in the number of the older population over the period 1931 - 71, as well as in the light of the recent increases in the young adult population, it becomes evident that the decline in average household size must have been caused by a fundamental change in the living arrangements of certain Canadians. Otherwise, given the decline in mortality that Canada has experienced over the last 40 years, and the resulting additions to the older population, and given the increases in the younger adult population since the late 1960's, due to the coming of age of the

baby-boom children, we could have seen less of a decline in average household size. In fact, there might have been an increase had the larger numbers of older or young adult persons continued to live together with families in family households, as they were more inclined to do in earlier decades. (See Pelletier *et al.*, Chapter V, p. 70.)

Statistics on the population by age and sex (not shown here) indicate that the total population 65 and over has increased consistently. Indeed, it has almost doubled since 1931. There have also been greater increases in the older female population than in the older male population. While the male population 65 and over more than doubled over the period 1931 - 71, the female population more than tripled. The ratio of the total male and female population 65 and over to the total Canadian population 20 - 64 indicates that since 1941 there have been increasing numbers of older people and particularly older females available to live with those in the household- and family-formation ages. Yet, the decline in average household size, described above, tells us this has not been the case. Since life expectancy has increased, contemporary couples have a period of life to spend together, in the proverbial empty nest stage, after their children have grown and moved out. Such couples, as well as older persons who have been left alone due to the death of a spouse or divorce, are more likely these days to set up a separate household, rather than move in with their children.

Furthermore, the tendency for young adults to live apart from their families, either alone or together with other non-related persons, has also contributed to the lowering of average household size. It would seem that the appearance of larger numbers of older persons and young adults in the age structure would make it possible for almost every family household to retain its older relatives and its young adult unmarried members. But in fact it produced the very opposite situation, with older persons and young adults preferring private living arrangements. This has obviously been aided by the availability of housing units suited to families and to persons living alone, and by their ability to afford these newer kinds of living arrangements. Older persons have increasingly benefited from pension and other social initiatives such as health insurance and housing accommodation designed on their behalf by governments. The post-Second World War young people have also reaped the advantages of a buoyant economy and a labour market that was very favourable to them well into the early 1970's. Young adults have also profited from a number of programs designed to assist them financially with their higher education.

Hence many older relatives and young adult members of families have chosen to live apart in non-family households, leaving smaller nuclear families composed of parents and children, or just two parents, to occupy dwellings alone.

These transformations in the living arrangements of families and individuals are clearly reflected in the recent changes in the size distributions of households and census families.

2.5. Trends in the Size Distributions of Households and of Census Families, and in the Estimated Population Living in Households and Census Families of Varying Size, Canada, 1941 - 71

The size distributions of households in percentage terms show that, over the period 1941 - 71, there have been declines in households of largest size, a trend of long standing, increases in those of smallest size, and increases in the importance of the two-person household that, since 1961, has been Canada's modal household size.

TABLE 2.3. Percentage Distribution of Households by Number of Persons, and of Census Families by Number of Persons and Number of Children, Canada, 1941 - 71

Item	1941	1951	1956	1961	1966	1971
Households by number of persons ¹						
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1	6.0	7.4	7.9	9.3	11.4	13.4
2	18.4	20.9	21.9	22.2	23.1	25.3
3	19.5	20.2	18.8	17.8	17.0	17.3
4	17.9	18.9	18.9	18.4	17.6	17.6
5	13.2	12.9	13.1	13.3	12.8	11.9
6	8.9	7.9	8.0	8.2	8.0	6.9
7	5.8	4.7	4.6	4.6	4.4	3.9
8 and 9	6.2	4.5	4.3	4.2	3.9	2.6
10 or more	4.1	2.7	2.4	2.1	1.8	1.1
Families by number of persons						
Total . . . . .	..	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
2 . . . . .	..	31.2	30.3	28.9	28.9	31.4
3 . . . . .	..	23.9	22.0	20.7	19.8	20.6
4 . . . . .	..	20.0	20.5	20.6	20.4	20.8
5 . . . . .	..	11.0	12.3	13.4	13.8	13.1
6 . . . . .	..	5.8	6.6	7.5	8.0	7.1
7 . . . . .	..	3.2	3.5	3.9	4.1	3.6
8 . . . . .	..	1.9	2.0	2.1	2.2	1.6
9 or more . . . . .	..	2.8	2.8	2.9	2.8	1.8
Families by number of children ²						
Total	100.0	100.0	..	100.0	100.0	100.0
0	31.2	32.3	..	29.3	28.9	30.5
1	23.6	23.5	..	20.2	19.5	20.6
2	17.5	19.8	..	20.6	20.5	21.2
3	10.6	10.9	..	13.4	13.9	13.4
4	6.4	5.8	..	7.5	8.0	7.2
5	3.9	3.2	..	3.9	4.2	3.7
6 - 8	5.3	3.7	..	4.0	4.2	2.9
9 or more	1.5	0.9	..	0.9	0.9	0.5

¹ Includes Newfoundland from 1951 and Yukon and Northwest Territories from 1956.

² Includes Newfoundland from 1951 and Yukon and Northwest Territories from 1961.

.. Figures not available.

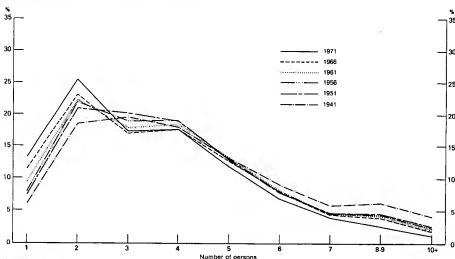
Source: 1951 Census of Canada, Vol. III, Table 131; 1956 Census of Canada, Vol. I, Table 34; Vol. III, Table 2; 1961 Census of Canada, Vol. II, Part 1, Tables 13, 44 and 49; 1966 Census of Canada, Vol. II, Tables 10, 54 and 58; and 1971 Census of Canada, Bulletin 2.1 - 2, Table 3; Bulletin 2.2 - 2, Table 2; Bulletin 2.2 - 3, Table 14.

The relative importance of moderate-size households has remained fairly stable since 1961, after declining somewhat to that year. Contributions of non-family household formation to the growth of one-person households are obvious. Although more than four fifths of two-person households are of the family type, both family and non-family households have contributed in recent years to the increase in two-person households. The trend for census families over the whole period 1951 - 71 has generally been similar to that for households, although the statistics for census years from 1951 - 71 show the degree to which trends in the size distributions of census families have been influenced by changes in fertility. Somewhat similar trends for the estimated population living in households and families of varying size are confirmed by relevant statistics given in Appendix C and discussed at the end of this chapter.

Table 2.3 presents the percentage size distributions of private households according to the number of persons, and of census families, according to both number of persons and number of children, based on data available for given census years.

Chart - 2.2

Percentage Distribution of Households by Number of Persons, Canada, 1941-71



Source: Table 2.3

In examining the trends in households of various size in Table 2.3 and as depicted in Chart 2.2, it must be kept in mind that households include one-, two- and multiple-person non-family households. The percentage of one- and two-person households showed consistent increases at each census date over the period 1941 - 71. The increases in one-person households were particularly marked: their

proportion of the total more than doubled, over the 30-year period from 1941 - 71, rising from 6.0% - 13.4%. Households of two persons, in relation to total households, showed a considerable increase, although the rise from 18.4% in 1941 to 25.3% in 1971 was less dramatic than that for one-person households. For both one-person and two-person households, the increases in their relative share of total households were most marked over the 1961 - 71 decade, and particularly striking for the five-year period making up the second half of this decade. Households of three and more persons constituted smaller percentages of total households in 1971 than in 1941. Increases in the percentages of four-, five- and six-person households in the 1956 and 1961 Census years over 1941 levels reflect rises in the child population during the post-Second World War baby boom. They also reflect the continuing decline in households of largest size.

Figures for the size distributions of households in Table 2.3 are graphically depicted in Chart 2.2 and demonstrate striking changes in the distributions between 1941 and 1951 and between 1951 and 1961. In 1941, the three-person household was the modal household size. In the 10 years between 1941 and 1951, this had changed so that, in 1951, households of two and three persons were almost equally numerous. However, by 1956, the two-person household had become the more obviously preferred household size, while the proportion of three-person households showed a drop from 1951 levels. For each of the censuses subsequent to 1956, the proportion of two-person households continued to increase. Contributions to the growth of the two-person household have been made by both family and non-family households. Family households of two persons rose from 22.3% in 1961 to 36.3% of the total in 1971, the major jump being in the 1966 - 71 period. For non-family households of two persons, the corresponding increases over the same period from 72.3% in 1961 to 77.7% in 1971 were not as marked. Increases in two-person family households were no doubt caused by a combination of increases in the number of older couples in the empty nest stage and of delays in childbearing by young couples.

Proportions of four-person households have remained fairly stable since 1966, constituting 17.6% of total households in both the 1966 and 1971 Census years. However, the proportion of households of five and more persons declined over 1941 - 71, the dip being particularly marked for the last decade of this 30-year period.

Comparable data for the percentage size distributions of census families according to number of persons, illustrated in Chart 2.3, are of considerable interest when examined along with the percentage distributions of families according to the number of children under 25 years of age, living at home, also presented in Table 2.3 and depicted in Chart 2.4.

By definition, census families must have a minimum of two persons who are living in a husband-wife or parent-unmarried child relationship. Since the number of one-parent families represents less than 10% of all census families, we are safe in assuming that the figures in Table 2.3 for number of persons in families

Chart - 2.3

Percentage Distribution of Census Families by Number of Persons, Canada, 1951-71

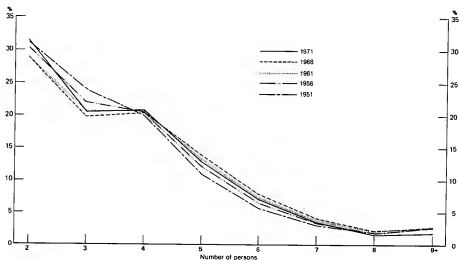
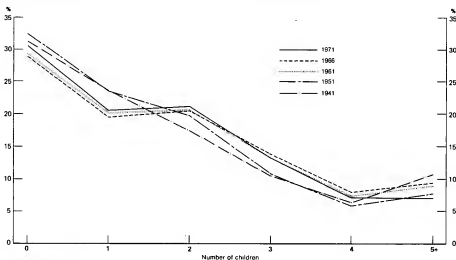


Chart - 2.4

Percentage Distribution of Census Families by Number of Children, Canada, 1941-71



represent, in the main, couples without and with children, and so follow a similar pattern to the trends in the size of families with specified number of children at home. The curve for the percentage distribution of families by number of persons, beginning with two persons, resembles very closely the one depicting the percentage distribution of census families by number of children under 25 at home, beginning with zero children. This may be seen from examining the two lines representing the 1971 figures for persons in families (size distributions from two to seven persons) and children in families (size distributions of zero to five and more children) in Charts 2.3 and 2.4.

Therefore, if families with two, three, four, five and more persons are regarded as couples with no children, one child, two children, three children, etc., the figures given in Table 2.3 demonstrate the fertility trends already noted and the trends in the size of families with specified number of children at home. Percentages of two-person families (that is, couples without children) declined from 31.2% in 1951 to lower levels in 1956, 1961 and 1966, then rose to 31.4% in 1971. There were declines from 1951 levels in the percentages of three-person families (almost exactly similar to that for families with one child) with no real recovery in 1951, as there was with two-person families. The percentage of four-person families showed a remarkable stability, corresponding to that for two-child families, for which, in fact, the percentage increased perceptibly over 1951 - 71. There were higher percentages of families with five, six and seven persons in 1971 than in 1951 (similar to that for families with three, four and five children), although these percentages were down in 1971 from 1966 levels. In the case of families with seven persons, there was a rise in their relative share of the total from 3.2 in 1951 to 4.1 in 1966, then a decline to 3.6 in 1971. Over the same period, census families of both eight and nine persons declined relative to total families, mainly because of the fall in their share during 1961 - 71. It must be kept in mind that percentages of families with three, four and five children increased in 1966, not only because of real increases in families of such size in 1961, but also because of the sharp and continuing declines in very large size families. This long-standing trend affected the percentages of families with five children and less, particularly those with five children.

Over the period 1941 - 61, Canadians were building families of two, three and four children, in preference to a wider range of family size. However, the decline in marital fertility during the decade of the 1960's, a decline that continued into the early 1970's, is evident in the figures for census families for the years 1966 and 1971 in Table 2.3. Although families of four persons (that is, couples with two children) show a remarkable stability, note the increases in the relative size of two-person families (that is, couples with no children), the slight increase in 1971 in the percentage of three-person families (that is, couples with one child) and the slight decreases in the relative size of five- and six-person families (that is, couples with three and four children). Besides examining the changes over recent decades in the size distributions of households and families, it is of some interest to consider whether there have been any changes in the distribution of the population among private households and census families of different sizes.

Although figures for the population in households by size and in census families by size are not given in the Canadian census volumes, it is possible to crudely estimate these numbers. The method of preparing such estimates, as well as the percentage distributions based on these estimates, are given in Appendix C. The percentages in appendix Table C.1 give us some idea of how the estimated Canadian population has been distributed among households and census families of varying size, for each census year from 1951 - 71. We can also see how the estimated population of children in families, that is, children 0 - 24 living at home, has been distributed among census families of varying size, for each census year 1941 - 71, for which data for making these estimates were available.

Appendix Table C.1 reveals that there has been a decided change over the period 1951 - 71 in the percentage of the estimated population in private households of smallest and largest size, that is, in households of one and two persons and of eight or more persons. Furthermore, while changes in the percentages of the estimated population living in households of these sizes were fairly gradual over the 15 years from 1951 - 66, they were conspicuously marked over the period 1966 - 71. Hence, while 1.8% of the estimated private household population lived in one-person households in 1951 and 1956, this increased to about 1.9% in 1956, to almost 3% over the next 10 years, from 1956 - 66, and then to almost 4% over the five-year period from 1966 - 71.

The increase in the percentage share of the estimated private household population residing in two-person households was more gradual over the same period rising from 10% in 1951 to about 11% in 1961 and to 12% in 1966. The rise to 14% in 1971 represented a greater increase over the five-year period from 1966 - 71 than the increase for the previous 15 years. Except for increases in the percentage of the estimated population living in households of four persons, over 1966 - 71, and a very slight and gradual increase from 1951 - 71 in the percentage of the estimated population living in five-person households, the percentage of the population living in households of three to seven persons remained fairly stable over the 15 years from 1951 - 66 at between 68% - 69%, rising to about 70% in 1971. The estimated population residing in households of eight or more persons changed little over 1951 - 56, registering close to 20% of the population. This declined, however, to about 18% and 17% in 1961 and 1966, respectively, and then fell abruptly to about 12% in 1971, the drop being greater over 1966 - 71 than for the previous 15 years.

The percentage distributions of the estimated population residing in private households of varying sizes, over 1951 - 71, would seem to indicate that, for the most part, Canadians continue to live in households of fairly moderate size, that is, in households of three to seven persons. Indeed as appendix Table C.1 demonstrates, there has actually been an increase in the proportion of the estimated population residing in households of these sizes, from about 68% in 1966 to about 70% in 1971, due mainly to the increase over this same five-year period in the percentage of persons in four-person households.

The changes in the percentage distributions of the estimated population living in census families, which may be examined in Table C.1, reflect the various changes in fertility and their effects on family size, over the 20 years between 1951 and 1971, already noted. Of considerable interest is the concentration in 1971 of more than one fifth of the nation's estimated population in census families of four persons, indicating the continued and growing importance of the two-child family as the modal family size.

Estimates of children 0 - 24 living at home in census families for the years for which the information required for these estimates was available indicate, as one would expect, that over the period 1941 - 71, children have become increasingly concentrated in smaller census families. This is particularly evident in percentages of estimated children in two-child families. As compared with 1951, when under one fifth of the estimated children belonged to families of two children, in 1971 almost one fourth of Canada's estimated children were living in families of two children. Over the same period, there were also increases in the percentages of children living in families of three and four children.

The percentage of estimated children in families with only one child was down in 1961 and 1966 from previous levels, as may be seen in Table C.1, revealing the effects of increased nuptiality and the fertility trends of the late 1940's and 1950's. Of considerable interest is the noticeable increase in 1971 over 1966 levels in estimated children in one-child families. This reflects the recent, drastic decline in fertility in Canada, already discussed.

The most marked changes over this 30-year period were the consistent declines in the percentages of estimated children living in families with six or more children, bringing their share of the total down by close to half, from about 27% in 1941 to about 14% in 1971. Therefore, increases in the percentages of estimated children living in families of smaller size can be attributed not only to the particular patterns of favoured family size that developed during and after the Second World War, but also to the effects of the long-standing and persistent declines in large families in Canada.

FOOTNOTES

¹ For a detailed account of recent trends in fertility, mortality, nuptiality and migration, all of which have played a role in recent changes in household and family formation and size in Canada, see *The Population of Canada* (United Nations, 1974). Background materials prepared by the author in 1973, for Part 3.3 of this U.N. volume, "Households and Families in Canada: Recent Trends" (Wargon, 1974c), have been used in Chapter 2 and at some other points in this study.

² Throughout this section, the terms "growth rate" and "rate of growth" refer to the relevant figures for percentage increase in Table 2.1 B, and these terms are simply used interchangeably with the term "percentage increase".

³ For 1951, the household population in private households was obtained by multiplying the average number of persons per household, which is available in Canadian census volumes, by the number of households. For 1956, the number of private households is equal to the number of occupied dwellings and therefore, the number of persons in occupied dwellings was used.

⁴ The term "collective household" refers to a household occupying a collective dwelling. The term "collective dwelling" refers to a dwelling in which many persons are likely to reside. Included are hotels, motels, hospitals, staff residences, institutions, military camps, jails and missions, and rooming- or lodging-houses with 10 or more persons not related to the head of the household. Also included are small hotels, nursing homes and similar establishments, even though there are fewer than 10 persons not related to the head of the household (Canada, 1973c).

⁵ See footnote 5 in Table 2.1 A about the comparability of the 1931 figures for families with those for census families in the later census years.

CHAPTER 3

TRENDS IN HOUSEHOLDS

3.1. Trends in Households, by Type

3.1.1. Trends in Total Households, by Family and Non-family Type, Canada, 1951 - 71

Between 1951 and 1971 in Canada there was a continuing and fairly consistent growth in the number of total households and family households. Absolute increases in family households stemmed from the growth of one-family households. By contrast, the numbers of two or more families sharing the same dwelling declined over the period between the federal censuses of 1951 and 1971. Non-family households increased substantially (mostly because of increases in the one-person type) thus boosting their share of all Canadian private households over the 20 years covered in Table 3.1.

These trends may be examined in the relevant statistics in Table 3.1 with the number of private households and their percentage distributions, according to family and non-family type, for each census year over the period 1951 - 71. The family households are shown according to one- and multiple-family type. The non-family households are classified according to one- or multiple-person type. Although comparable data for private households in these main categories are available only since 1951, the statistics dating from that census year reveal significant changes. In particular, they point up the changes that contributed to the high and sustained rates of growth in the number of households from 1951 - 71, described in Section 2.2.

TABLE 3.1. Private Households by Type, Canada, 1951 - 71

Type of household	1951 ¹	1956	1961	1966	1971
Total private households . . . No.	3,409,295	3,923,646	4,554,736	5,180,473	6,041,300
%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Family households No.	3,024,285	3,464,226	3,948,935	4,376,409	4,933,445
%	88.7	88.3	86.7	84.5	81.7
One family No.	2,794,860	3,259,499	3,780,992	4,246,753	4,812,360
%	82.0	83.1	83.0	82.0	79.7
Two or more families No.	229,425	204,727	167,943	129,656	121,085
%	6.7	5.2	3.7	2.5	2.0
Non-family households No.	385,010	459,420	605,801	804,064	1,107,855
%	11.3	11.7	13.3	15.5	18.3
One person No.	252,435	308,613	424,750	589,571	811,835
%	7.4	7.9	9.3	11.4	13.4
Two or more persons No.	132,575	150,807	181,051	214,493	296,020
%	3.9	3.8	4.0	4.1	4.9

¹ Excluding Yukon and Northwest Territories.

Source: 1951 Census of Canada, Vol. X, Tables 95 and VII; 1956 Census of Canada, Vol. I, Table 37; 1966 Census of Canada, Vol. II, Table 28; and 1971 Census of Canada, Bulletin 2.1 - 3, Table 7.

As Table 3.1 shows, there was an increase in the number of family households, due entirely to the growth in one-family households. But the percentage of such one-family households in relation to all private households was lower than previous levels. There were consistent declines in the number and in the percentage that multiple-family type households made up of total households over the period 1951 - 71. This contributed to the reduction in the percentage that family-type households made up of total households over the 20-year period. There were large increases in the number and percentage of non-family households, although the increase in the percentage share was more substantial for the one-person than for the multiple-person type of non-family household.

Total private households grew over the period 1951 - 71 from nearly 3,500,000 to more than 6,000,000, an increase of more than 2,500,000. Family households, particularly one-family households, have always constituted most of the total private households in Canada, and this continues to be so. However, the period 1951 - 71 also witnessed a reduction by almost one-half in the total number of multiple-family households (that is, households containing two or more families) from close to 229,500 in 1951 to about 121,100 in 1971. Therefore, although in 1971 total family households at 81.7% still made up more than four fifths of total private households, this was somewhat smaller than their percentage in 1951. This was obviously because there were more non-family households whose growth in turn was traceable to the large increases in one-person households since 1956 and in multiple-person households since 1966.

One-person households more than tripled over 1951 - 71, from 252,435 to about 811,800. Thus, the percentage that such households made up of total private households almost doubled during this 20-year period from 7.4% in 1951 to 13.4% in 1971. Also, the increase from 9.3% in 1961 to 13.4% in 1971 was twice as large as the increase from 1951 - 61.

Further, non-family households consisting of two or more non-family or non-related persons more than doubled over 1951 - 71 and were replaced by multiple-family households as the smallest fraction of total private households. Non-family households of two or more persons at about 296,000 were almost 5% of total households in 1971. This was more than double the number and percentage that multiple-family households made up of total private households in that census year.

Another way of looking at the patterns discussed above is in terms of percentage change. For one-family households, fairly consistent but small percentage increases over each five-year period were in contrast to the consistent percentage decreases in multiple-family households, and the fairly marked percentage increases in each of the two types of non-family households. For one-person non-family households, consistent and sizable percentage increases of around 38% for each of the three five-year periods beginning in 1956 have had the effect of increasing substantially the share of this type of household, in relation to total private households over the 15-year period between 1956 and 1971. And

lastly, while non-family households of the multiple-person type have grown in number since 1951, they experienced their most marked increases in the last half of the decade 1961 - 71. The percentage increase in these households was as high, at 38.0%, as that for the one-person type of non-family households.

Describing similar trends during the last decade in the United States, one article published in 1966 pointed out that Americans were in a position to purchase privacy, that is, individuals and nuclear families could occupy separate dwelling units not shared with other relatives or non-relatives (Beresford and Rivlin, 1966). Certainly in Canada, the continuing growth in the number of one-family households, the decline in sharing the same dwelling facilities, and the sharp increases in non-family households over the period since 1951 have been facilitated by the buoyancy of the economy which lasted for a considerable period after the Second World War and into the early 1970's. Besides the fact that families could afford private living arrangements, the improved position of the young and the old because of various forms of governmental and other assistance, already noted, as well as the appearance of appropriate housing units to accommodate these newer living arrangements, have undoubtedly contributed to the trends in private households described above. It remains to be seen, however, how economic conditions in this country at the present time and in the near future will affect this trend towards privacy and the ability of families and individuals to afford such private living arrangements.

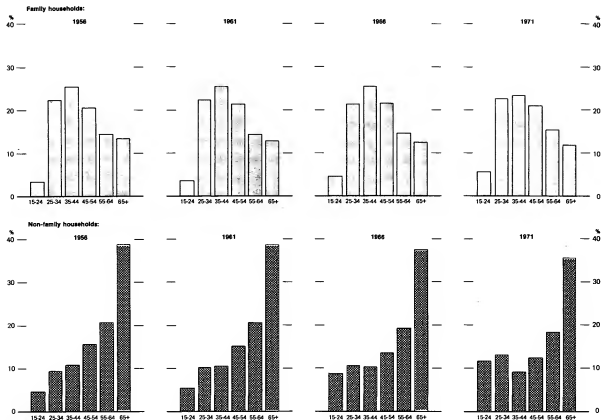
Although traditional living arrangements with the doubling up of families and of related or non-related persons with nuclear families seem to be disappearing, there are indications that the recent sharp increase in lone-parent families, particularly since 1966 (to be discussed further on), has brought with it a simultaneous increase in the number of family households headed by a one-parent head, but with additional persons living in the household. Undoubtedly, the increase in separated, divorced and never-married heads of families and households has contributed to this development. It is still too early to tell, however, whether the anticipated continued increase in family dissolution in Canada, due to divorce, will bring with it a continuation of this perceptible short-term change.

3.1.2. Trends in One-family and Multiple-family Households and in One-person and Multiple-person Non-family Households, by Age and Sex of Head, Canada, 1956 - 71

The examination of numerical and percentage distributions of household heads by age and sex would seem to indicate that females in both the youngest and oldest age groups contributed to the high rates of formation of non-family households, particularly those of the one-person type, during 1956 - 71. But for males it was essentially those in the youngest age groups who showed marked increases in non-family headship. Increased headship of family households by the young was not as marked as that for non-family households and was more pronounced for women in the ages under 35 than for men in the same ages.

Chart — 3.1

Percentage Distribution of Family and Non-family Households by Age of Head, Canada, 1956-71



Source: Table 3.2.

TABLE 3.2. Number and Percentage Increase in Family and Non-family Households by Age of Head, Canada, 1956-71

Household heads by age	1956	1961	1966	1971	Percentage change 1956-71 ¹	Average annual change
Family households						
All household heads	3,464,226	3,948,935	4,376,409	4,933,625	42.4	2.8
15-24 years	117,223	147,444	198,301	283,460	141.8	9.5
25-34 "	774,507	877,164	930,804	1,123,100	45.0	3.0
35-44 "	887,693	1,010,003	1,108,482	1,153,575	30.0	2.0
45-54 "	714,563	845,604	942,785	1,037,115	45.1	3.0
55-64 "	500,788	557,087	649,793	751,110	50.0	3.3
65 years and over	469,452	511,633	546,244	585,260	24.7	1.6
Non-family households						
All household heads	459,420	605,801	804,064	1,107,190	141.1	9.4
15-24 years	21,512	32,281	70,764	129,785	503.3	33.6
25-34 "	42,475	61,225	83,872	144,595	240.4	16.0
35-44 "	49,957	62,156	81,651	100,880	101.9	6.8
45-54 "	71,956	91,021	109,920	136,570	89.8	6.0
55-64 "	94,962	123,927	153,545	202,130	112.9	7.5
65 years and over	178,558	235,191	304,312	393,230	120.2	8.0

¹ These figures should be interpreted with a certain caution as the increases shown may be partly due to increases in the size of the total population in these age groups. The percentage increase in the selected age groups for 1956-71 presented below are based on data from the 1956 and 1971 Censuses, and the age group 15-24 is used to approximate those "under 25". The considerable increase in the size of the total age group 15-24 in the 15-year period 1956-71 as shown below was probably due to the coming of age of those born in the "baby-boom" years during and after the Second World War.

Percentage Increases in Selected Age Groups, 1956-71

All ages 15 years and over	39.90
15-24 years	74.73
25-34 "	19.68
35-44 "	18.07
45-54 "	42.17
55-64 "	50.04
65 years and over	40.23

Source: 1961 Census of Canada, Vol. VII, Part 2, Table 2; 1966 Census of Canada, Vol. II, Table 41; and 1971 Census of Canada, Bulletin 2.1-7, Table 44.

Before describing family and non-family households by age of household head for the four census years from 1956-71, some comments on the percentage distributions of heads of family households and of non-family households are in order. As may be deduced from Table 3.2 and Chart 3.1, while the distribution of heads of family households by age of head resembles, in a very general way, a normal distribution, the distribution of heads of non-family households is asymmetrical and skewed to the right. Note also that in 1956 and 1961 the smallest groups of heads of non-family households were among the very youngest heads, with shares of such heads rising systematically with age so that the age group 65 and over had the largest number of non-family household heads. In 1966 and 1971, this was also generally the rule, except for the age group 35-44, which was smaller in size than the age group of those who were 25-34 in the same

census years causing a trough in the distribution, particularly in 1971. The reason for this is likely a combination of two factors: this cohort of household heads was born during the 1930's, when birth rates were at an all-time low and came of age during the early 1950's when marriage was at an all-time high. Therefore, there was no similarly deep crevice or trough in the distribution of family household heads who were 35 - 44 in 1971, as there was for non-family household heads in the same census year since, of this relatively small group, a large proportion probably married and established families.

However, despite the fact that the largest proportion of non-family household heads were those in the oldest age groups (as is evident in Chart 3.1), the percentage increase in the formation of non-family households as may be seen in Table 3.2 was highest for those in the younger age groups. Thus, over the 15-year period between 1956 and 1971, heads of non-family households under 25 increased from about 21,500 to about 129,800. This represented a percentage increase of a little over 500%, while those heads in the age group 25 - 34 increased approximately 240%. The increases in the youngest age groups, and particularly in those under 25 who were heads of family households, were also noteworthy over the period 1956 - 71. But they were not nearly as high as the percentage increases already cited for the heads of non-family households in the youngest age groups. The latter also surpassed the growth rates of heads of non-family households in the oldest ages, 55 and over (which were also quite high over the 15-year period 1956 - 71).

It should be clearly understood, however, that the size of the percentage increases, for both family and non-family household heads in the youngest age groups over the period 1956 - 71, were partly due to the increases in the size of the total population in these age groups. The cause was the coming of age in the late 1960's and the early 1970's of those born in the baby-boom years in the late 1940's and early 1950's. This is confirmed by the relevant figures in the footnote of Table 3.2. However, in spite of this, the tendency to establish non-family households was greater for the young than for the old over the 15-year period represented in Table 3.2. The young elected to head both one-person or multiple-person non-family households during this period, while the old were more likely to head one-person households than to live with others in non-family households.

These trends are reflected in the changes in the percentage share that family and non-family household heads in the various age groups make up of their respective totals. These percentages, calculated on the basis of the figures in Table 3.2, are not shown here but are represented graphically in Chart 3.1. Those in the ages 15 - 24 were 4.7% of total non-family household heads in 1956 and their share rose consistently to 5.3% in 1961 and to 8.8% in 1966, reaching a high of 11.7% in 1971. This increase in the share of non-family household heads under 25 was conspicuously greater than that for family household heads in these youngest ages. There was also a decided increase in the percentage share of non-family household heads in the ages 25 - 34 from 10.4% in 1966 to 13.1% in 1971. For all

other age groups of non-family household heads, their proportion of the total declined, particularly over 1961 - 71, the decline being most noteworthy for those 65 and over.

Thus, non-family household heads in the ages under 45, when considered as a percentage of the total non-family heads, experienced increases from 24.8% in 1956 to 25.7% in 1961 and 29.4% in 1966, reaching a high of 33.9% in 1971. Over the 15-year period between 1956 and 1971 then, non-family household heads under 45 increased from about one-quarter to about one third of total non-family household heads, mainly because of increases in non-family household heads under 35. On the other hand, heads of non-family households who were 45 and over experienced corresponding decreases in their proportion of total non-family household heads from three quarters of the total in 1956 to only two-thirds in 1971, although their total numbers and relative size still exceeded that for heads under 45.

By contrast, the changes in the proportions of heads of family households in the younger and older ages were much less marked than for heads of non-family households. Indeed, among family household heads 65 and over, there was a decrease in their share of the total from about 13.6% in 1956 to close to 11.9% in 1971.

In view of these trends, it is of some interest to examine the changes that have taken place in the various types of households, by age and sex of head. We can determine whether there have been any distinctive patterns, according to sex, that have contributed to the conspicuous growth of non-family households and in particular to the marked growth of one-person non-family households. Table 3.3 presents for each census year from 1956 - 71 the percentage distributions of household heads, by sex of head, for total heads as well as for heads in each age group. Before examining the trends revealed by these statistics, it is of some interest to consider the nature of the distributions of heads, by sex.

Owing to traditional Canadian census practices in the designation and tabulation of household heads and family heads, in family households where husband and wife are both present, the head of the household is the husband rather than the wife. Where there is one parent only with an unmarried child or children, the parent is considered as the head. Similarly, in the preparation of family data, the husband, if present, is automatically tabulated as head of the family rather than the wife.¹

Therefore, in the censuses up to and including that of 1971, only those women who had no spouse present, that is, those who were single, separated, divorced or widowed, could be considered as heads of households and families. So, when we speak of total household heads, we are referring to a population

See footnote(s) on page 82.

category in which men far outnumber women. In obvious ways, therefore, the patterns in Table 3.3 reflect the somewhat artificial conceptual aspects of the Canadian census up to and including 1971.

Nevertheless, it may be noted in Table 3.3 that the percentage of males making up total household heads is high in the younger age groups (although not highest in the youngest ages) but decreases as the age of household head rises. Furthermore, the statistics in this table also demonstrate a decided change over the period 1956-71, with consistent and ever-larger decreases in the share that male heads are of the total, and of every age group of household heads, and concomitant increases in the corresponding percentages of female heads. These changes were particularly striking in the youngest and oldest age groups represented in Table 3.3. In examining the percentage changes in household heads according to type of household and by age and sex of head, it becomes clear that these changes are due, in large part, to increases in household headship by women of both family and non-family households, but particularly the latter, and in terms of certain characteristic patterns, by age.

TABLE 3.3. Percentage Distribution of Household Heads by Age and Sex, Canada,¹ 1956-71

Age and sex of household head	1956	1961	1966	1971
Total T.	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
M.	88.2	87.0	85.5	83.5
F.	11.8	13.0	14.5	16.5
15-34 years T.	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
M.	95.5	94.3	92.0	88.6
F.	4.5	5.7	8.0	11.4
15-24 years T.	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
M.	91.1	88.7	84.4	80.8
F.	8.9	11.3	15.6	19.2
25-34 " T.	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
M.	96.2	95.4	94.1	91.2
F.	3.8	4.6	5.9	8.8
35-44 years T.	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
M.	94.0	93.4	92.6	91.2
F.	6.0	6.6	7.4	8.8
45-54 " T.	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
M.	89.7	88.9	88.2	87.2
F.	10.3	11.1	11.8	12.8
55-64 " T.	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
M.	82.8	82.0	81.5	79.9
F.	17.2	18.0	18.5	20.1
65 years and over T.	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
M.	71.9	69.1	66.1	63.9
F.	28.1	30.9	33.9	36.1

¹ Yukon and Northwest Territories included in 1956 and excluded from all other years.

Source: 1961 Census of Canada, Vol. VII, Part 2, Table 3; 1966 Census of Canada, Vol. II, Table 41; and 1971 Census of Canada, Bulletin 2.1-7, Table 44.

TABLE 3.4. Percentage Change and Average Annual Change in Households by Type of Household and Age and Sex of Head, Canada, 1956-71

Type of household and age of head	Total heads		Total male heads		Total female heads	
	Percentage change 1956-71	Average annual change	Percentage change 1956-71	Average annual change	Percentage change 1956-71	Average annual change
Family households						
One-family households	47.6	3.2	46.2	3.1	69.2	4.6
15-34 years	62.5	4.2	56.9	3.8	374.0	24.9
35-44 "	33.2	2.2	30.0	2.0	118.4	7.9
45-54 "	50.1	3.3	47.4	3.2	90.6	6.0
55-64 "	58.1	3.9	61.0	4.1	30.9	2.1
65 years and over	32.3	2.2	39.5	2.6	- 4.5	- 0.3
Multiple-family households	- 42.1	- 2.8	- 42.2	- 2.8	- 41.6	- 2.8
15-34 years	- 47.4	- 3.2	- 49.7	- 3.3	29.9	2.0
35-44 "	- 42.6	- 2.8	- 43.2	- 2.9	- 33.6	- 2.2
45-54 "	- 33.1	- 2.2	- 33.4	- 2.2	- 30.1	- 2.0
55-64 "	- 35.4	- 2.4	- 33.7	- 2.2	- 47.0	- 3.1
65 years and over	- 53.9	- 3.6	- 52.2	- 3.5	- 60.6	- 4.0
Non-family households						
One-person households	163.1	10.9	113.5	7.6	210.5	14.0
15-34 years	323.2	21.5	282.3	18.8	386.7	25.8
35-44 "	115.6	7.7	125.6	8.4	102.3	6.9
45-54 "	110.0	7.3	87.1	5.8	136.6	9.1
55-64 "	145.9	9.7	82.1	5.5	200.9	13.4
65 years and over	154.1	10.3	62.9	4.2	221.2	14.7
Multiple-person households	96.3	6.4	115.6	7.7	80.6	5.4
15-34 years	337.5	22.5	386.7	25.8	285.2	19.0
35-44 "	73.0	4.9	111.5	7.4	29.0	1.9
45-54 "	50.9	3.4	69.8	4.6	33.6	2.2
55-64 "	49.3	3.3	46.3	3.1	51.6	3.4
65 years and over	39.5	2.6	15.8	1.1	53.9	3.6

Source: 1956 Census of Canada, Vol. I, Tables 41 and 42; 1961 Census of Canada, Vol. II, Part I, Table 23; 1966 Census of Canada, Vol. II, Table 41; and 1971 Census of Canada, Bulletin 2.1-7, Table 44.

Table 3.4 presents statistics showing the percentage change and the average annual change in households, by type of household and by age and sex of head, for Canada, for each census year from 1956-71. These statistics provide evidence of the increase, in recent years, in women as household heads. The pattern of this increase, which was concentrated mainly in the youngest and oldest age groups of females, was due to the combined effects of a number of demographic and social trends, and to a real growth in the tendency for women with children to form their own households. A similar trend has also been described for the United States (Cutright, 1974).

Regarding family households, although men (due to definitional constraints) continued to make up the largest number and proportion of total household heads, two aspects of Table 3.4 are noteworthy. First, increases in the formation of one-family households were fairly high among the young, but the increases for female heads in the youngest age groups were considerably more marked than

those for males. This was likely because of the increases in marriage dissolution among the young and the lower remarriage rates of women than of men, creating a greater pool of women for which household heads were recruited. What is striking in Table 3.4 is the fact that younger females increasingly became heads of one-family households, and that multiple-family households at all ages of heads and for both sexes continued to decline. In this connection, it should be kept in mind that increasing one-family household headship among young women may be more feasible than it was previously because such household heads are willing to "take in" additional persons. Such a development has appeared in the relevant census statistics for the short period from 1961 - 71 and is noted in Section 3.1.1. Furthermore, this trend is in sharp contrast to that for women in the oldest ages, 65 and over, for whom headship of one-family households declined in both absolute and relative terms over the 15 years from 1956 - 71, as may be seen in Table 3.4. First of all, with increased life expectancy, males continue to head family households made up of couples in the empty nest stage. Second, one can surmise that women who were 65 and over in 1971 were in the prime marriageable and childbearing ages at the beginning of the 1930's. Likely, a good many of them did not marry, or if they did, had small families or no children at all. Furthermore, when they married, the differences in age at marriage between men and women were greater than in subsequent years. Consequently, many of them have probably been widowed and their families dissolved by the death of their husband. Some of them have likely been divorced. Also, since remarriage rates for women are lower than those for men, it is precisely such older widowed or divorced women with no children at home who have been swelling the ranks of one-person non-family household heads.

In examining the relevant figures in Table 3.4, it will be noted that only in the case of female heads of one-person non-family household heads in the oldest age group, 65 and over, were the percentage increases over the 15-year period from 1956 - 71 higher than those for all female heads of such households. Percentage increases in the number of female heads, 65 and over, calculated for each five-year period between 1956 and 1971 (not shown here) confirm that the formation of one-person non-family households by women in the oldest ages has been consistently high. It has also been higher than the percentage increases for total females forming such households. Indeed, among the older population, such a trend has been characteristic only for women.

Another way of summarizing the trends described above is as follows: women in both the youngest and oldest age groups contributed to the high rates of formation of one-person non-family households during 1956 - 71, whereas, for men, such high rates of formation were marked only for those in the younger age groups.

The effects of these trends are revealed in the distributions of household heads for each of the main household types, and by age and sex of head for each census year from 1956 - 71 (not shown here) on which the calculations in Table 3.4 have been based. The figures for the non-family households, and in particular

for the one-person non-family households, demonstrate that, while the percentages for both men and women in each age group rise with age, this characteristic of the distribution is far more striking for women than for men. For each census year, at least 45% of all women who were heads of one-person non-family households were in the ages 65 and over. Furthermore, the absolute and relative size of this age group in relation to the total female non-family heads has increased steadily over the 15-year period from 1956 - 71. This is in contrast to the percentage share of the age group 65 and over for male heads of one-person non-family households. Although the number of such male heads showed fairly consistent increases at each census year, their share decreased steadily at each census date from 35.3% in 1956 to 33.8% in 1961, and to 30.3% in 1966, reaching a low of 26.9% in 1971. Part of the reason for this is likely the higher rates of formation of one-person non-family households by men in the ages under 35. This resulted in the relative size of this age group moving from about 16% in 1956 in a steady rise to about 28% in 1971, consequently diminishing the relative size of the oldest age groups of men.

These trends may also be contrasted with those for heads of multiple-person non-family households. In 1956, absolute numbers were highest for both men and women in the ages 65 and over. By 1966, both the number and percentage of males in the age group under 35 were larger than those for males in the oldest age group of multiple-person non-family household heads. Among female heads of such households, the number as well as the percentage share of those in the age group under 35 increased considerably over the period 1956 - 71. Yet they did not exceed the size of the oldest age group of women, as in the case of male household heads of such households. In conclusion, we can say that differences in improvements in longevity over recent decades between men and women contributed to increased household headship by older women, by making relatively more women than men available as heads of non-family households, particularly those of the one-person type. The contributions to this trend of the differential age at marriage between men and women when such women married, and the continuing lower remarriage rates of women than of men, are obvious.

At this time, an appropriate question to ask is: Why do elderly women in Canada choose to live on their own rather than with their children? Beresford and Rivlin (1966) attribute a similar trend in the United States to the greater availability of income from social security programs. As has already been noted, the importance of increased purchasing power and other means available to the older female population, in making such developments possible in Canada, is undeniable. The same can be said for young adults who have chosen private living arrangements. However, this is not the complete explanation. The ever-increasing number of older persons, that is, older couples in the empty nest stage and older women left alone by death or divorce, and the increasing number of young adults were likely seen as a profitable market for small apartment units at a time when Canada's economy was buoyant and affluent, and when builders were already adjusting the kinds of units they were building to the demands of a market made up of larger proportions of smaller families able to afford a one-family home.

The trends in the headship of both family and non-family households, as described above, include the effects of recent demographic changes in the age and sex composition of the population. This includes the greater increase in the number of older females than of males in the corresponding ages, and the coming of age of those children born during the period of high birth rates after the Second World War. The extent of the increase in the headship of both family and non-family households by both males and females in certain age groups is more clearly seen when the effects of the changes in the age and sex distribution of household heads are removed. Such an analysis is made possible by using household headship rates by age and sex as presented and described in the following section.

3.1.3. Household Headship Rates, by Age and Sex, Canada, 1956 - 71

A useful measure in the study of household formation is the headship rate by age and sex. Since this measure specifies the number of household heads per 1,000 of the population by age and sex, it has the advantage of eliminating the effects of an unusual rise or fall of the numbers in a particular age and/or sex group. Therefore, the trends described in this section will exclude the influence of the coming of age of post-Second World War baby-boom children in the late 1950's and throughout the 1960's, and their swelling of the young adult age groups. In similar fashion, the rates also exclude the influence of the marked inflation of the oldest age groups, particularly by females, in the period to be examined. Whether or not persons become household heads is also very much influenced by their marital status (Kobrin, 1973). However, it was not possible within the framework of this study to calculate and consider household headship rates including further cross-classification according to the marital status variable.

Household headship rates for total heads and for male and female heads, for the census years from 1956 - 71, are presented in Table 3.5. These rates are crude in the sense that they do not distinguish households by family and non-family type, nor heads of households in the various marital status categories.² Nevertheless, they are of interest since they verify some aspects of household formation and headship already described in the previous section. For example, as may be deduced from the rates in Table 3.5, and as shown in Chart 3.2, the headship rates are higher for every age group of males than for females in the corresponding ages. This is mostly due, as already explained, to the definitional constraint in the Canadian census up to and including the 1971 Census. Such constraints applied to over 80% of the households represented in Table 3.6 and Chart 3.3, that is, to family households. In these households, if the husband and wife were both present at the time of enumeration, the husband was designated as head. Only females with no spouse present, or those maintaining non-family households could be designated as household heads. Also noteworthy are the higher levels of the rates for males in the ages 35 - 64 than for males 65 and over.

See footnote(s) on page 82.

TABLE 3.5. Household Headship Rates by Age and Sex, Canada, 1956 - 71

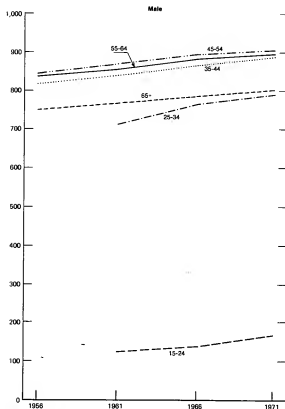
Age of head	1956	1961	1966	1971
Total				
Total heads	361.4	378.1	385.9	397.8
15-34 years	203.1	219.4	222.0	243.7
15-24 years	60.5	68.7	81.6	103.5
25-34 "	338.4	378.2	408.6	438.7
35-44 years	438.2	448.6	468.0	496.5
45-54 "	488.0	498.6	506.6	512.2
55-64 "	516.2	528.1	542.9	550.5
65 years and over	620.9	536.8	552.5	560.9
Male				
Total heads	630.3	654.7	663.0	669.7
15-34 years	386.3	409.5	406.6	428.1
15-24 years . . . . .	..	121.1	137.1	166.0
25-34 " . . . . .	..	711.1	763.6	789.6
35-44 years	817.7	840.5	865.2	890.6
45-54 "	842.6	869.2	892.1	902.9
55-64 "	839.1	853.0	881.1	892.2
65 years and over	749.1	765.6	784.5	800.4
Female				
Total heads	86.5	98.7	111.3	130.3
15-34 years	18.4	25.3	35.5	56.2
15-24 years . . . . .	..	15.6	25.6	40.1
25-34 " . . . . .	..	35.6	48.8	78.8
35-44 years	52.6	59.2	69.0	88.1
45-54 "	104.3	112.6	119.5	130.5
55-64 "	181.3	193.1	201.5	217.9
65 years and over	292.5	321.8	350.5	366.4

.. Figures not available.

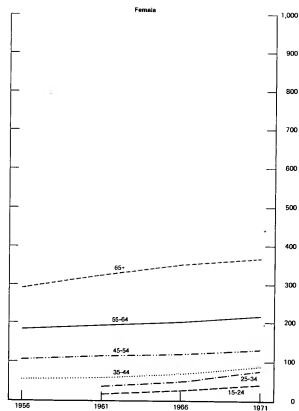
Source: 1956 Census of Canada, Vol. 1, Tables 41 and 42; 1961 Census of Canada, Vol. II, Part 1, Table 23; 1966 Census of Canada, Vol. II, Table 41; and 1971 Census of Canada, Bulletin 2.1-7, Table 44 and Bulletin 1.2-3, Table 7.

Chart — 3.2

Household Headship Rates by Age and Sex, Canada, 1956-71



Source: Table 3.5



In 1971, of 1,000 men in the ages 45 - 54, about 903 were heads of households, indicating the importance of household and family attachment for males in this middle age range. On the other hand, the prominence of female headship at the oldest ages, as compared with that for females under 65, is well illustrated in Table 3.5 and in Chart 3.2.

Household headship increased for both males and females in every age group shown in Table 3.5. From 1956 - 71, for males in the ages 15 - 34, there was a gain of 42 household heads per 1,000 of the population in these ages. For females, the corresponding gain was 38 per 1,000. Gains in household headship as measured by number of heads added per 1,000 of the population over the whole period 1956 - 71 were greater for males than for females in the ages 35 - 64. However, the reverse was the case for males and females in the oldest ages, 65 and over.

The nature of the increased headship of households in recent years, by the young and by elderly females, is more readily discernible in the examination of family and non-family household headship rates by age and sex of head.

Household headship rates for family households by age and sex are described here, although the actual rates are not presented. Heads of family households represent 80% of the population of family heads for whom information is given in Table 3.5. As may be deduced from Table 3.1, family household headship rates represent, for the most part, the formation of one-family households. It should also be noted that the explanation of the effects of the Canadian census definitional constraints upon differentials in male and female rates, already given above in connection with Table 3.5 also applies to family household headship rates. Rates for every age group of males are higher than those for females in the corresponding ages.

In terms of the changes over the whole period 1956 - 71, there were increases in the rate of family household formation for every age group of male heads, including those in the youngest ages. However, the increase in the rate was minimal for male heads in the ages 25 - 34, over the five-year period from 1966 - 71. The pattern of change in the rates for females provides considerable contrast to that for males. Although there were some increases in the rates for females in all the age groups up to age 54, including consistent and sizable increases for those in the ages 25 - 34 and 35 - 44 from 1961 - 71, the rates for women 55 and over decreased. For females 55 - 64 and 65 and over, the number of family household heads per 1,000 of total females in these ages decreased over the 15 years between 1956 and 1971. The decrease for those in the oldest ages was particularly noteworthy. The reasons for this have already been given in connection with the statistics in Table 3.4 that showed both absolute and relative decreases in female heads of family households 65 and over from 1956 - 71. Suffice it to say here that it is precisely the women in these oldest age groups - of

widowed or divorced marital status, who perhaps had had no children or whose children had grown and left home — who were swelling the ranks of one-person non-family household heads.

Increase in household headship by the young and by elderly females, particularly the elderly, is evident in Table 3.6 and Chart 3.3 which present household headship rates for one-person household heads.

As noted earlier, the one-person type of non-family household outnumbers the two-or-more-person type and has also grown faster in recent years. In 1956, non-family households made up 11.3% of total private households of which 7.4% were of the one-person type. By 1971, non-family households had risen to 18.3% of the total, of which 13.4% were of the one-person type, and 4.9% were those of the two-or-more-person type. From 1956 - 71, the percentage increase in one-person households was more than twice that for the two-or-more-person type. In 1971, one-person non-family households made up close to three quarters of all non-family households. The increasing weight of the one-person non-family type of household in relation to all non-family households means that there is a great deal of similarity in the position and slope of the curves representing the headship rates of all non-family households and of one-person non-family households. Therefore, the text that follows concentrates on the one-person non-family household headship rates in Table 3.6, represented graphically in Chart 3.3.

Over the 15 years for which rates are shown here, the increase in those living alone has been dramatic for certain age and sex groups. As may be seen in Table 3.6, the number of young males under 35 living alone, per 1,000 males in the same ages, increased from 10 in 1956 to 13 in 1961, to 19 in 1966 and to 26 in 1971. In other words, there was more than a twofold increase of young males under 35 living alone per 1,000 of the male population in the corresponding ages over the comparatively short period under examination. Indeed, a doubling occurred over the 10-year intercensal period from 1961 - 71. Although there was a similar development for women 15 - 34, the rate for female heads in these ages maintaining separate households was not as high as for males at the census dates covered in Table 3.6. However, the 1971 figures reveal that women in the ages under 35 seem increasingly to be choosing to live alone. For females in these younger ages, the rate moved from seven in 1956 to nine in 1961, to 14 in 1966 and then rose sharply to 22 in 1971. Of some interest also is the fact that in 1971 the one-person non-family household headship rate for males and females 15 - 24 was identical, at 17. Although the tendency to live alone was not as pronounced for females 25 - 34 as for males in each of the census years from 1961 - 71, the increases over this period in the one-person household headship rates for young Canadians of both sexes in these ages were noteworthy.

In the ages 35 - 44, rates for those heading up one-person households were somewhat higher for males than for females in every census year. More striking were the higher rates for those in the older age groups and the differentials

**TABLE 3.6. One-person Non-family Household Headship Rates¹
by Age and Sex, Canada, 1956 - 71**

Census year and age	Total	Male	Female
1956			
Total heads	28	27	29
15-34 years	8	10	7
15-24 years . . . . .	..	..	..
25-34 " . . . . .	..	..	..
35-44 years	16	18	14
45-54 "	29	30	28
55-64 "	54	49	59
65 years and over	101	86	117
1961			
Total heads	35	31	40
15-34 years	11	13	9
15-24 years	7	7	6
25-34 "	16	20	13
35-44 years	19	21	17
45-54 "	34	32	36
55-64 "	67	55	79
65 years and over	124	94	152
1966			
Total heads	44	37	51
15-34 years	16	19	14
15-24 years	11	12	11
25-34 "	23	28	19
35-44 years	25	28	22
45-54 "	39	37	42
55-64 "	77	57	96
65 years and over	153	104	196
1971			
Total heads	53	43	64
15-34 years	24	26	22
15-24 years	17	17	17
25-34 "	33	38	28
35-44 years	29	34	24
45-54 "	43	42	45
55-64 "	89	62	115
65 years and over	183	111	242

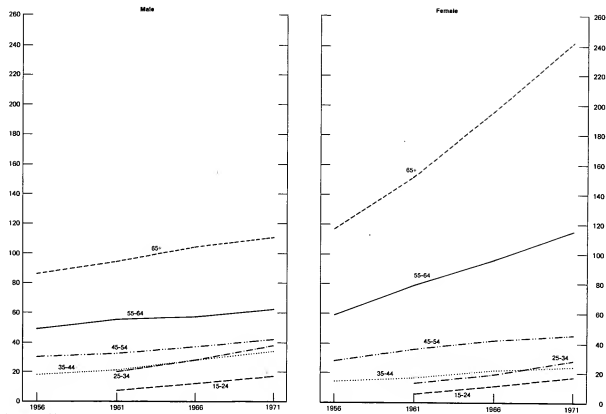
¹ Number of heads per 1,000 of the population in the same age-sex group.

.. Figures not available.

Source: 1956 Census of Canada, Vol. 1, Tables 41 and 42; 1961 Census of Canada, Vol. II, Part 1, Table 23; 1966 Census of Canada, Vol. II, Table 41; and 1971 Census of Canada, Bulletin 2.1-7, Table 44; Bulletin 1.2-3, Table 7.

Chart — 3.3

One Person Non-family Household Headship Rates by Age and Sex, Canada, 1956-71



Source: Table 3.6.

between rates for males and for females in the ages 45 and over. Beginning with the age group 45 - 54, for which the one-person household headship rate for females began to exceed that for males in 1961, the difference between male and female rates accelerated enormously with the rise in age. For example, in 1956, for females 65 and over, the one-person household headship rate exceeded that for males by somewhat more than 35%. By 1961, the rate for females in this oldest age group was greater than that for males by more than 60%. In 1966, this difference had risen to over 85%, and by 1971 the difference was well over 115%. Over the period under examination, the tempo of increase of the one-person non-family headship rates for females 55 - 64 was also greater than that for the corresponding rate for males. This is immediately discernible in Chart 3.3.

Since the household headship rates in Table 3.6 reveal the changes in the ages at which persons begin to live outside of family households, this gives an approximate indication of the shift in the ages at which young people leave their childhood families. We also see the shift in the ages when older persons are released from those families in which they are parents and/or spouses. In other words, the changes in the one-person non-family household headship rates by age, presented and described above, are indicative of incipient changes in the life histories of certain Canadians and in the life cycles of their families.

A certain caution is called for in interpreting the statistics in Table 3.6 since they cover such a short period, and also because the changes they show developed during a period of relative affluence that lasted well into the 1970's. Nevertheless, a brief summary is warranted covering a number of factors that may have contributed to the substantial growth over recent decades in one-person non-family households.

In earlier decades, when young adults completed their schooling to become wage-earners, they were expected, if they remained at home, to pay back their parents' "investment" in raising them. They were expected to contribute to the maintenance of what were then larger family households, because of higher fertility levels and the beginnings of improvements in the survival of the elderly, both of which meant larger numbers of persons residing in family households. One wonders to what degree those young adults who remain at home nowadays do so because they are completing their education, and require either financial help in doing so, or at least freedom from the necessity to pay for their lodging and food. By the same token, it is an open question whether or not those who move out are able to do so because they can finance their education themselves or because they are no longer required to help out in the maintenance of the family household. Furthermore, some impetus to the growth of one-person non-family household living arrangement has probably also been given by the increases in the separated and divorced, particularly since 1968, the year in which Canada's more liberal Divorce Law was passed. Increasingly in this country, separation and divorce occur among the young, thus providing a pool of persons from which one-person non-family household heads may be drawn. In such cases, however, living alone may simply be a temporary stage, preceding remarriage and establishment of a

new family household. Owing to the expected increases in separation and divorce, the young will probably continue to contribute to the maintenance of current levels of the one-person non-family household living arrangement, economic circumstances permitting. And lastly, an apparent postponement of marriage among the young, particularly young women, may also be contributing to the pattern of persons living alone. Young persons may leave their family households to live alone for a period before entering marriage and family household formation. A similar tendency has been noted in the United States (Norton and Glick, 1976).

In the case of elderly females, many of them may now live alone because they can afford to do so, thanks to governmental health and income plans, because small-unit, often subsidized, housing is available to them, because their families no longer need them, or no longer have room for them, or even because they perceive of themselves as having some years left to live a life of their own.³

Given the short-term changes revealed by the statistics in Tables 3.5 and 3.6 and the description of statistics on family household headship rates, it may be concluded that in Canada, over the 15 years from 1956 - 71, there has been a real increase in the tendency for younger men and women, and for older females to live apart from family households, and often alone. Similar conclusions have been drawn for the United States, for the period 1940 - 70 (Kobrin, 1973, 1976b). It remains to be seen, however, how current and anticipated economic conditions in Canada will influence the maintenance and growth of non-family living arrangements on the part of the young and the old in this country.

3.2. Trends in the Demographic Composition of Households

3.2.1. Trends in the Household Population, According to Relationship to Head of Household, Canada, 1956 - 71

Although heads, wives and children constituted a higher proportion of total members of private households at each census date from 1956 - 71, this was due not only to an increase in heads of primary family households, but also to increases in heads of non-family households as well as declines in the other related and non-related members of private households. Relevant statistics demonstrate the already-noted increasing identification of the nuclear family with the household.

Since 1956, Canadian census data have been prepared and published according to the relationship of members of households to the household head. These data have been used to prepare Table 3.7 that presents for census years from 1956 - 71 the numerical and percentage distributions of the population in households, according to relationship to the head of the household.

See footnote(s) on page 82.

**TABLE 3.7. Household Population According to Relationship of Members
to Head of Household, Canada, 1956-71**

Relationship to head of household		1956	1961	1966	1971
Household population	No.	15,967,037	18,097,369	19,869,512	21,427,075
	%	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Heads	No.	3,948,375	4,577,211	5,199,121	6,062,825
	%	24.7	25.3	26.2	28.3
Wives	No.	3,168,234	3,623,684	4,024,245	4,472,510
	%	19.8	20.0	20.2	20.9
Son or daughter	No.	6,734,826	7,941,866	8,833,023	9,070,920
	%	42.2	43.9	44.5	42.3
Total heads, wives and children	No.	13,851,435	16,142,761	18,056,389	19,606,255
	%	86.8	89.2	90.9	91.5
Son or daughter-in-law	No.	94,076	82,119	64,304	65,610
	%	0.6	0.4	0.3	0.3
Grandchild	No.	184,248	194,815	172,812	165,565
	%	1.2	1.1	0.9	0.8
Father or mother	No.	134,013	95,791	92,166	111,680
	%	0.8	0.5	0.5	0.5
Brother or sister	No.	152,381	141,774	145,506	178,315
	%	1.0	0.8	0.7	0.8
Father or mother-in-law	No.	109,556	111,327	110,403	107,865
	%	0.7	0.6	0.6	0.5
Brother or sister-in-law	No.	88,652	85,220	87,918	85,695
	%	0.6	0.5	0.4	0.4
Other relatives	No.	96,039	95,449	95,038	107,710
	%	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.5
Total related members	No.	858,965	806,495	768,147	822,445
	%	5.4	4.4	3.9	3.8
Total non-related members	No.	1,256,637	1,148,113	1,044,976	998,375
	%	7.9	6.4	5.3	4.7

Source: 1956 Census of Canada, Vol. I, Table 59; 1961 Census of Canada, Vol. II, Part 1, Table 99; 1966 Census of Canada, Vol. II, Table 94; and 1971 Census of Canada, Bulletin 2.1-12, Table 86.

There are differences between the household population totals in Table 3.7 and those in Table 2.1 A. The totals in Table 3.7 exclude those persons for whom the relationship to the head of the household at usual residence could not be determined. This means the exclusion of approximately 114,000 in 1956, 140,900 in 1961, 145,000 in 1966 and 141,000 in 1971. It should also be noted that Table 3.7 includes non-family as well as family household heads.

As may be seen in Table 3.7, heads of households and other members of family nuclei, that is, wives and children, have constituted well over four fifths of Canada's household population at each census date from 1956-71. However, their proportion of the total household population has increased from close to 87% in 1956 to over 91% in 1971. Other related members (in-laws, grandchildren, other relatives) constituted under 6% of the total household population in 1956, and this percentage declined to about 3.8% in 1971. In similar fashion, total non-related members of households, who numbered more than 1,250,000 in 1956,

made up close to 7.9% of the total household population in that year. Then they declined steadily in both absolute and relative terms, so that by 1971 their numbers stood at under 1,000,000, representing a fall to 4.7% in the 1971 Census.

Between 1956 and 1971, the population of household heads increased in number and as a percentage of the total household population from 24.7% in 1956 to 28.3% in 1971. Although there were increases in the number of wives and children in households, these increases were not as great as for heads and this is reflected in the slight changes in the percentages of wives and children. In contrast to the increase of almost four percentage points in the size of the category heads relative to the total household population, wives increased by only one percentage point. Sons and daughters of household heads increased from 42.2% of the household population in 1956 to 44.5% in 1966, decreasing again to about the 1956 level in 1971, no doubt due to the declining trends in fertility already noted. Thus, although household heads, wives and children considered as a group constituted a higher proportion of total members of households at each census date, this rise can be attributed to the increases in the population of household heads. In turn, these increases reflect in large part the growth of the population of non-family household heads, who are included in Table 3.7.

Some interesting changes are revealed in the distributions of household heads, wives and children, when considered in terms of broad age groups (figures are not given here). Household heads who were 15 - 24 and who constituted about 3.6% of total heads in 1956 just about doubled this share to 6.9% in 1971. Wives 15 - 24 whose share of total wives was only 3.6 in 1956 made up close to 12% in 1971. Again, this is evidence of the inflation of the young adult age group by the children born during the post-Second World War baby-boom. It also reflects the real increase in headship of households among the young in recent years.

The statistics in Table 3.7 are also a commentary on recent changes in the presence of generations in households. Unfortunately, exactly comparable data for the earlier part of this century are not available. The 1931 Census Monograph, *The Canadian Family*, does treat related subjects such as the characteristics of private families (as defined in 1931), which included guardianship children, adult dependents and lodgers (Pelletier, *et al.*, 1938, p. 91). It is clear from this earlier monograph that Canadian households at one time included not only the family nucleus as defined by the contemporary census family concept but also another relative or relatives, such as grandparents, uncles, aunts, etc., and non-relatives, such as lodgers, employees, etc. As already indicated, such living arrangements are rapidly disappearing in Canada.

However, while the Canadian data seem to point irrevocably in this direction, it is important to note that there are certain indications, on a short-term basis, of a counter-trend. The recent sharp increases in one-parent families, to be discussed in greater detail in a later section of this study, seem to have been accompanied by a simultaneous increase in the number of family households headed by a one-parent head, but with other persons living in the household. The

statistics revealing this change (not shown here) are available in the Canadian census household publications for 1961, 1966 and 1971, a period of too short duration to permit firm conclusions to be drawn. Nevertheless, they are worth some mention and description here, due to the pattern that the available statistics reveal over the second half of the 1961 - 71 decade.

There was a consistent growth over the 10 years between 1961 and 1971 in the number of one-family households without additional persons. And such households were considerably more numerous than those with additional persons living in the household. At the same time, however, there was an increase between 1966 and 1971 in the number of family households with additional persons from about 455,000 to about 488,000, or an absolute increase of almost 33,000 family households with additional persons. A perusal of the figures for this category of family households for 1966 and 1971, both for two-parent families and for one-parent families maintaining their own households, indicates that, of this increase of almost 33,000 family households, one-parent families with additional persons living with them were responsible for an increase of more than 30,000 such households. On the other hand, families with both parents at home were responsible for an increase of under 3,000 such households. Furthermore, when the relevant statistics are examined in greater detail for the period 1966 - 71, it is seen that the rather large increase in one-parent family households with additional persons can be attributed to an increase in such families with both related and non-related persons living with them. By contrast, a rather small increase of under 3,000 reported for two-parent families with additional persons living in the household masks a 10% decrease over 1966 - 71 in such family households in which the additional persons living with the family were not related. This would seem to indicate that, in the case of two-parent family households with additional persons, there has been a tendency to exclude the non-related, while in the case of one-parent families, there has been a tendency to accept both related and non-related persons living in the same household with the family.

What are the reasons for these developing patterns? This question poses itself since the statistics cited above seem, at first glance, to be contrary to the trend towards the undoubling of families and individuals from family households. In all probability, the pattern described must be due to the increases in one-parent families, consequent upon the passing of Canada's more liberal Divorce Law in 1968, and more than likely also to the decided increases in such one-parent families headed by young females. We can speculate further that this increase in lone-parent one-family households with additional persons may also partially explain the substantial increases in primary family headship among younger women, to be examined in greater detail in another section. Perhaps young women without spouses who are heads of families can manage to maintain their own households by having additional persons living with them, on a cost-sharing basis, or in exchange for baby-sitting and other services. It is also conceivable that, in part, the increase may represent one-parent heads of families living with partners to whom they are not married. These developments will bear further scrutiny. Owing to anticipated increases in divorce, we can expect an increase in

one-parent families headed by females. This is because women still usually obtain custody of children when marriages are dissolved and also because, for the time being, remarriage rates are lower for women than for men.

In Canada, the trend towards the increasing identification of the household with the nuclear family may be expected where domestic relationships and economic viability permit one-family households to maintain their privacy. However, the increasing dissolution of families at the younger ages of heads and wives at a time when the economic future of this country is uncertain may bring with it a continuation of the tendency towards the kind of doubling up that has been described here on the basis of statistics for one-family households with and without additional persons, for the years 1961, 1966 and 1971.

3.2.2. Trends in the Household Population, According to Family and Non-family Household Type, Canada, 1956 - 71

Canada is a country where most people (indeed, 88% in 1971) live in families, that is, are either male or female heads of families, or are wives of male heads of families, or are children of couples or of lone parents. Furthermore, most of the family population live in primary families, that is, in those families where the head is also the household head. The number of secondary families of the related and non-related types has been minimal in recent decades.

Over the comparatively short time between 1956 and 1971, the composition of households by family type and the non-family population by type of member has been changing. There has been an increasing concentration of the family population within primary families, and a growing concentration of the non-family population in the category of head.

Table 3.8 presents the household population, according to family type and family status. It illustrates, for the short period from 1956 - 71, the absolute increases in the population living in primary families, the over-all declines in both absolute and relative terms in the population living in both types of secondary families, and the marked growth of the non-family population since 1966, particularly the increases in non-family household heads.

Although the total population living in families in Canadian households increased considerably between 1956 and 1971, the percentage that the family population made up of the total population remained fairly stable at around 88%, with some slight variations. It is evident from the statistics in Table 3.8 that the increases in the absolute numbers of the family population have been due entirely to the increases in those living in primary families. At the same time, the decreases in the share of the family population relative to the total population in households have been due to the decreases in the share of those living in secondary families, and to the increases in the share of the non-family population.

TABLE 3.8. Population by Household and Family Status, Canada,¹ 1956-71

Family status	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
	1956		1961	
Population ²	15,967,037	100.0	18,097,369	100.0
In families	14,077,213	88.2	16,095,721	88.9
In primary families	13,275,021	83.1	15,401,993	85.1
Heads	3,425,890	21.5	3,911,529	21.6
Wives	3,168,234	19.8	3,623,684	20.0
Children	6,680,897	41.8	7,866,780	43.5
In related families	500,635	3.1	469,138	2.6
Heads	173,935	1.1	157,120	0.9
Wives	130,538	0.8	115,416	0.6
Children	196,162	1.2	196,602	1.1
Lodging and other families	301,557	1.9	224,590	1.2
Heads	111,675	0.7	78,795	0.4
Wives	94,289	0.6	60,926	0.3
Children	95,593	0.6	84,869	0.5
Not in families	1,889,824	11.8	2,001,648	11.1
Household heads	522,485	3.3	665,682	3.7
Relatives of head	412,259	2.6	413,003	2.3
Lodgers	497,266	3.1	526,670	2.9
Employees and partners of head	290,985	1.8	233,803	1.3
Inmates of institutions	166,829	1.0	162,490	0.9
	1966		1971	
Population ²	19,869,512	100.0	21,427,050	100.0
In families	17,681,728	89.0	18,852,100	88.0
In primary families	17,153,429	86.3	18,388,260	85.8
Heads	4,345,718	21.9	4,898,290	22.9
Wives	4,024,245	20.2	4,472,510	20.9
Children	8,783,466	44.2	9,017,465	42.1
In related families	395,537	2.0	343,475	1.6
Heads	134,854	0.7	126,775	0.6
Wives	96,357	0.5	91,520	0.4
Children	164,326	0.8	125,185	0.6
Lodging and other families	132,762	0.7	120,365	0.6
Heads	45,694	0.2	45,615	0.2
Wives	33,779	0.2	27,915	0.1
Children	53,289	0.3	46,835	0.2
Not in families	2,187,784	11.0	2,574,950	12.0
Household heads	853,403	4.3	1,164,525	5.4
Relatives of head	422,167	2.1	532,410	2.5
Lodgers	486,441	2.4	569,285	2.7
Employees and partners of head	244,210	1.2	165,825	0.8
Inmates of institutions	181,563	0.9	142,900	0.7

¹ Includes Yukon and Northwest Territories.² For the year 1956, excludes approximately 114,000 persons for whom relationship to head of household, at usual residence, could not be determined, for 1961, 140,878 persons, for 1966, 145,000 persons, for 1971, 141,000 persons.

Source: 1956 Census of Canada, Vol. I, Table 58; 1961 Census of Canada, Vol. II, Part I, Table 98; 1966 Census of Canada, Vol. II, Table 93; and 1971 Census of Canada, Bulletin 2.1-12, Table 85.

The population living in primary families in households increased from 1956 - 71 by almost 5,000,000 from about 13,275,000 to about 18,388,000, an increase from about 83% to almost 86% of the total household population. Although the population living in both types of secondary families was small in 1956, it declined consistently from that date. Both absolutely and relatively, to 1971. Whereas in 1956, those living in related families numbered about 500,600 and made up just over 3% of the total household population, by 1971 these numbers had declined to about 343,500. This reduced the size of the population living in related families relative to the total population to 1.6%, that is, by almost one-half. The share of the population living in lodging and other families was also reduced considerably between 1956 and 1971 from about 1.9% to about 0.5%.

On the other hand, the non-family household population increased from almost 2,000,000 in 1956 to a little more than 2,500,000 in 1971, the increase in non-family household heads being spectacular - from about 522,500 in 1956 to about 1,164,500 in 1971. That is to say, the population of non-family household heads more than doubled over this 15-year period. Indeed, the increase in non-family household heads constituted well over 90% of the increase in the total non-family population from 1956 - 71.

3.2.3. Trends in the Non-family Household Population, Canada, 1956 - 71

From 1956 - 71, Canada's non-family population increased at a slightly faster percentage rate than the family population. The non-family population is concentrated in the youngest (under 35) and in the oldest (65 and over) age groups.⁴ For the first 10 years of the 15-year period spanning the census years 1956 - 71, the non-family population in the oldest ages increased at a more accelerated pace than that in the youngest ages. However, during 1966 - 71, the percentage rise among the under 35 non-family population was considerably higher than that for the 65 and over age group. The concentration of the young increased for non-family heads, relatives of heads and lodgers over 1956 - 71. For employees and partners of heads and inmates of institutions, the concentration of the old increased at the expense of the young.

The numerical and percentage changes in the household population, by age, for the period 1956 - 71 and for the five-year intercensal periods making up this 15-year span (not shown here) afford a means of comparing recent changes in the growth of the non-family with the family population and of assessing the importance of the various age groups in the percentage increase experienced by the total non-family population.

Considering the whole 15-year period between 1956 and 1971, the household population not in families increased at a slightly higher rate than the family population. A comparison of the percentage increases in the family and

See footnote(s) on page 82.

non-family populations for each of the three five-year periods making up the 15 years from 1956 - 71 reveals that the total population in families grew twice as fast as the non-family population during 1956 - 61 and at about the same rate during 1961 - 66. However, during the period 1966 - 71, the household population not in families experienced a percentage increase that was more than twice as high as the family population increase. The growth rate of the population in primary families was substantial over 1956 - 71, indeed slightly higher than that for the total family and the total non-family population. But there were consistent and decided declines in the growth rate of the population in secondary families (that is, in related, and lodging and other families). Along with the slower growth rate of the population in primary families over 1966 - 71, during a period when non-family households and population were increasing, these developments contributed to a less accelerated growth for the family population than for the non-family population over 1956 - 71.

It is well to keep in mind that Canada's non-family household population is concentrated in the youngest and/or the oldest ages. Over 1956 - 71, the percentage increase for the household population not in families was highest for those 65 and over at 52.5% in comparison with a 39.2% increase for non-family.

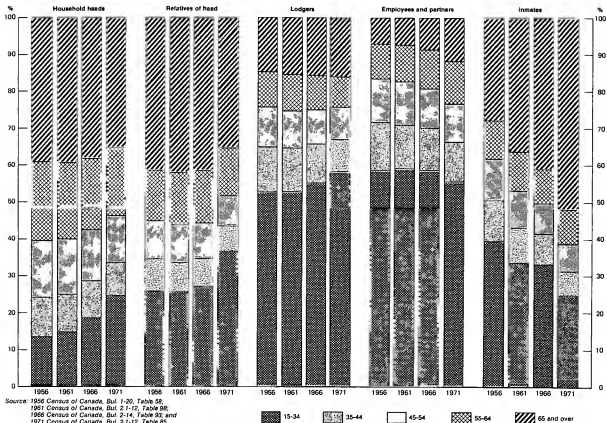
TABLE 3.9. Non-family Household Population in Broad Age Groups, Canada, 1956 - 71

Age	1956	1961	1966	1971
Numerical distribution				
Population not in families . .	1,889,824	2,001,648	2,187,784	2,574,950
Under 35 years	673,350	673,249	744,325	937,045
35 - 64 years	698,945	733,959	768,025	848,495
65 years and over	517,529	594,440	675,434	789,405
Percentage distribution				
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Under 35 years	35.6	33.6	34.0	36.4
35 - 64 years	37.0	36.7	35.1	33.0
65 years and over	27.4	29.7	30.9	30.7

Source: 1956 Census of Canada, Vol. I, Table 58; 1961 Census of Canada, Vol. II, Part 1, Table 98; 1966 Census of Canada, Vol. II, Table 93; and 1971 Census of Canada, Bulletin 2.1 - 12, Table 85.

Chart - 3.4

Percentage Distribution of Persons not in Families by Household Status and Age, Canada, 1956-71



persons in the ages under 35 and a 36.3% increase for total non-family persons. The percentage increase for the non-family population 65 and over remained fairly stable over the three five-year intercensal periods between 1956 and 1971. From a percentage increase of 14.9% over 1956 - 61, a slight fall to 13.6% was recorded for 1961 - 66. However, for 1966 - 71, the percentage increase was 16.9%. On the other hand, there was a decided change over 1956 - 71 in the growth rate of the non-family population under 35, which was negative during 1956 - 61, then rose to about 10.6% in 1961 - 66 and peaked at 25.9% in 1966 - 71, a percentage increase that was considerably higher than the 16.9% increase for those 65 and over during the same five-year period.

The effects of these changes over the period 1956 - 71 are discernible in the distributions of the non-family population in broad age groups as given in Table 3.9. Note that the share of the non-family population 65 and over remained fairly stable over 1961 - 71, but for those under 35 it increased by more than two percentage points. The statistics in Table 3.9 also reveal that the combination of those in the ages under 35 and over 65 have constituted over 60% of all non-family persons since 1956, and that their share of the total has risen from about 63% in 1956 to about 67% in 1971.

The share of the young and old combined has also increased for each type of non-family person over 1956 - 71. However, the concentration of the young and the old varies according to type of non-family person, and so the changes in this concentration from 1956 - 71 have also varied from one type of non-family person to another. This is immediately discernible in Chart 3.4 displaying the percentage distributions of the non-family population by type of member and by age for each census year from 1956 - 71.

It may be noted that, over the period 1956 - 71, the concentration of the young and the old increased, for non-family heads, relatives of heads and lodgers. Among employees and partners of head, those under 35 have constituted well over 50% of their total since 1956. However, this concentration of the young decreased somewhat between 1966 and 1971, and there was a corresponding increase in the share of those in the ages 65 and over. The age distribution of institutional inmates also changed considerably from 1956 - 71. For these non-family persons, the concentration of the old increased considerably at the expense of the young and those in the middle age range 35 - 64.

Another noteworthy aspect of the distributions displayed in Chart 3.4 is the degree of concentration of the young and old in the various categories of non-family persons in 1971. For non-family household heads, just about one quarter of the total were 15 - 34 in 1971, while more than one-third were over 65 in the same census year. Among relatives of non-family heads, more than two-thirds were in the youngest (that is, 0 - 34) and oldest age groups, and were about equally divided between those under 35 and those over 65.

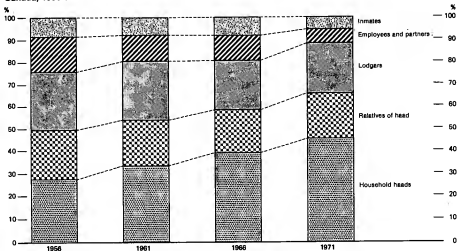
type and by age as a percentage of the total non-family population for each census year from 1956 - 71. These percentage distributions are graphically depicted in Chart 3.5.

In relation to the total non-family population, there have been consistent and substantial increases only in the share of total non-family heads of households. For the period 1956 - 71, the percentages for all other categories of non-family persons have either remained fairly stable or have decreased. In 1956, non-family household heads made up 27.6%, that is, just slightly more than the category lodgers, which in 1956 constituted 26.3% of the total. By 1971, however, 45.2% or close to one half of the total non-family population reported that they were non-family heads of households. This was more than twice the percentage that relatives of heads and lodgers made up of the total in 1971, and more than seven times the percentages that employees and partners and inmates made up of the total population of non-family persons.

It is obvious, judging from the changes over the relatively short period from 1956 - 71, that Canada's non-family population has changed its style of living, from living with others to living alone.

Chart - 3.5

Percentage Distribution of Persons not in Families by Household Status, Canada, 1956-71



Source: Table 3.10

FOOTNOTES

¹ Note that this practice has been changed in the 1976 Census of Canada, with the removal of the sex constraint in the designation of family head. In the 1976 Census of Canada, household head was redefined as follows:

The HEAD of household is: EITHER the husband OR wife; the parent where there is one parent only, with unmarried children; or any member of a group sharing a dwelling equally.

² Household and family headship rates by age, sex and certain marital status categories, prepared in connection with Statistics Canada's projections of households and families, have been published in *Household and Family Projections for Canada and the Provinces to 2001* (Canada, 1975b). The rates published in the latter include all households, both private and collective, and were prepared per 100 of the population in each age and sex group. They also include family households with non-family heads in the non-family head population. On the other hand, the rates used in this study are based on statistics for private households only, have been calculated per 1,000 of the population in each age and sex group, and exclude family households with non-family heads from the population of non-family heads. See Appendix A.

³ In other words, the fact that young adults and elderly women seem increasingly to be choosing to live alone may be evidence of Anderson's thesis that relationships, even among family members, are determined by the perception of costs and benefits arising through simple exchange. It may now be seen to be of advantage to young adults and to elderly females, who can manage to do so, to live apart from their families, while still maintaining close ties with them (Anderson, 1971).

⁴ It should be noted that, among the various types of non-family persons for which the Canadian census publishes statistics, there is a variation in the ages included. For non-family household heads and employees and partners, the statistics are for those 15 and over. For relatives of heads, lodgers and inmates of institutions, the statistics are for those from zero years and over.

CHAPTER 4

TRENDS IN CENSUS FAMILIES

4.1. Trends in Census Families, by Structure and Type

4.1.1. Trends in Census Families, by Marital Status of Head, Canada, 1941 - 71

Statistics on census families by marital status of family heads for the period 1941 - 71 indicate that marriage and the traditional husband-wife conjugal unit still remain the choice of the vast majority of Canadians. The number of married family heads has risen steadily since 1941 from close to 2,510,000 to almost 5,071,000 in 1971. Married family heads as a proportion of total family heads have stood at 93% or over since 1951, and have remained at this high and fairly stable level since that date. However, there have also been absolute and relative increases in divorced and never-married family heads over the same period. Recent demographic trends in mortality, nuptiality (that is, in marriage, divorce and remarriage) and in fertility outside marriage have contributed to these over-all developments in a variety of ways.

The numerical and percentage distributions of census family heads, by marital status for census years from 1941 - 71, are given in Table 4.1 and permit the examination of general trends. It should be noted that, in this table, the divorced in 1941 include the permanently separated, and the married include the total separated for all other census years.¹ In considering the trends described on the basis of Table 4.1 and other similar tables used in this chapter, certain technical aspects of the 1971 data for lone-parent family heads must be taken into account.²

See footnote(s) on page 126.

TABLE 4.1. Census Family Heads by Marital Status, Canada, 1941 - 71

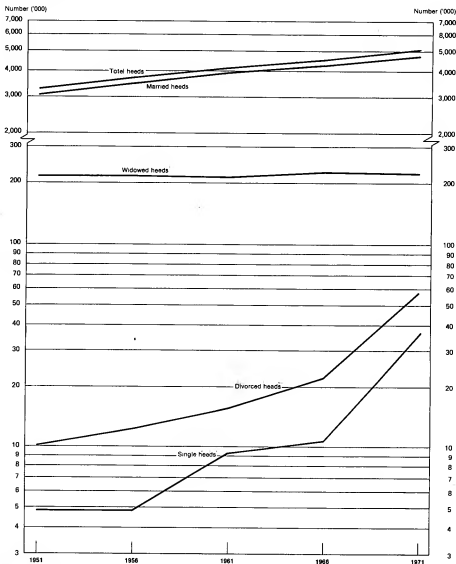
Marital status of head		1941	1951	1956	1961	1966	1971
Total family heads	No.	2,509,664	3,287,384	3,711,500	4,147,444	4,526,266	5,070,685
	%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Married family heads ¹	No.	2,246,849	3,055,804	3,477,404	3,908,825	4,266,432	4,753,225
	%	89.5	93.0	93.7	94.2	94.3	93.7
Widowed family heads	No.	224,500	216,641	216,924	213,657	226,950	222,625
	%	8.9	6.6	5.8	5.2	5.0	4.4
Divorced family heads ²	No.	32,984	10,108	12,341	15,636	22,115	57,875
	%	1.3	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.5	1.1
Single (never-married) heads	No.	5,331	4,831	4,831	9,326	10,769	36,950
	%	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.7

¹ Includes the "married, spouse absent" and the "separated" categories in all years from 1951.

² Includes the permanently separated in 1941.

Source: 1941 Census of Canada, Vol. V, Table 19; 1951 Census of Canada, Vol. III, Table 136; 1956 Census of Canada, Vol. I, Table 56; 1961 Census of Canada, Vol. II, Part 1, Table 73; 1966 Census of Canada, Vol. II, Table 79; and 1971 Census of Canada, Bulletin 2.2-4, Table 34.

Chart - 4.1
Census Family Heads by Marital Status,
Canada, 1951-71



Source: Table 4.1.

The growth in the number of census family heads by marital status from 1951 - 71 - the period for which the statistics are comparable - is depicted in Chart 4.1.

Over the 30-year period from 1941 - 71, total family heads as well as family heads in every marital status category increased in absolute numbers, with the exception of the widowed for whom a decrease in numbers was reported in 1961 and 1971, and the never married for whom there was a slight decline in numbers between 1941 and 1951. Married heads increased their share of the total markedly between 1941 and 1951, and there were continued but slight increases in this share in subsequent census years until 1966. In that year married family heads represented 94.3% of all family heads. In 1971, there was a slight decline in this share to 93.7%. For widowed heads of census families, their share of the total declined from 8.9% in 1941 to 4.4% in 1971, that is, by just about one-half. There were gradual and consistent increases in the percentages that divorced heads made up of total heads, the increase being particularly marked for the five-year period between 1966 and 1971. There were also increases in the percentages for never-married heads, the group that constituted the smallest fraction of total heads. For the never married, as for the divorced, the most radical increase in their share occurred in the most recent five-year period for which statistics are given in Table 4.1, that is, for 1966 - 71.

On the whole, the statistics in Table 4.1 and their visual presentation in Chart 4.1 reveal the maintenance of high and fairly stable numbers and percentages of married family heads. It is important to understand, however, that the continuing high and fairly stable numbers and percentages of married family heads have been due to the combined effects of a number of factors in addition to the basic one, namely, that most people get married nowadays. These additional factors include: improvements in longevity, which means that people are living longer and families are less broken by death than previously; an increase in the remarriage of the widowed and divorced; and very likely also the inclusion of heads of consensual or casual unions, as married heads. (In the 1971 Census, heads of families based on common-law unions were instructed to mark their marital status as "married". We may assume, therefore, that many of those living in consensual or casual unions in 1971 very likely did the same.) Although the Canadian census data do not distinguish officially married persons from those in common-law or consensual unions, the increases in these latter types of marital arrangements over the last 10 or 15 years are confirmed by everyday observation of life around us in this country.

More and earlier marriages for both young males and females contributed significantly to the increases in census family heads between 1941 - 61. Over the period 1941 - 71, the greater decline in age at marriage for brides than for grooms also caused a gradual narrowing of the difference in age at marriage between males and females.

TABLE 4.2. Percentage of the Population Ever Married by Selected Age Groups and Sex,
Canada, 1941, 1951 and 1961-71

Census year and sex	15-19 years	20-24 years	25-34 years	35-44 years	45-54 years	55-64 years	65 years and over
Male							
1941	0.5	16.3	60.0	81.0	86.4	87.2	88.2
1951	1.0	23.6	72.4	85.9	87.1	88.4	88.2
1961	1.3	30.5	76.7	88.0	89.5	88.6	89.2
1966	1.2	30.0	78.8	88.5	89.9	89.4	88.9
1971	1.6	32.4	80.0	90.2	91.1	90.6	89.4
Female							
1941	5.7	39.0	72.6	85.4	89.2	89.9	88.8
1951	7.9	51.5	82.6	87.6	88.7	90.0	89.6
1961	8.7	59.5	87.1	90.8	90.1	89.6	89.8
1966	7.6	55.8	87.9	92.2	91.3	89.6	89.7
1971	7.5	56.5	87.4	92.9	92.6	90.5	89.3

Source: 1961 Census of Canada, Vol. VII, Part 2, Table VII, pp. 2-17; 1966 Census of Canada, Vol. I, Table 34; and 1971 Census of Canada, Bulletin 14-2, Table 1.

Although, these days, most people in Canada do get married, the recent so-called "marriage squeeze", that is, the unavailability of a sufficient number of eligible males for marriageable females on the matrimonial market, has had the effect of decreasing the proportions of ever-married females over 1961-71, as compared with previous decades when the proportions of ever-married females in the youngest ages rose. Furthermore, the decline in the median age at marriage of males and females, but particularly of females, seems to have stabilized in the years since 1961, and has even increased slightly in recent years, having the effect of lowering the proportions of females ever-married in the younger ages as indicated in Table 4.2. However, it is still too early to tell whether this is due to the effects of the marriage squeeze, or to conscious postponement of marriage by young women. In any case, it is important to keep in mind that temporary delay or postponement of marriage can lead to eventual permanent non-marriage.

The greater decline in age at marriage for men than for women, and the continuing high proportions of the ever-married male population in the younger ages are undoubtedly due to the fact that men can now afford to marry at younger ages. They no longer need to postpone marriage until they are able to support a wife and children. In some cases, they may marry before they have completed their education, or before they are securely attached to the labour force. This has been presumably made possible, in large part, by their wives remaining in the labour force after marriage, or while expecting a child, or returning to work after the birth of a child or children, thus contributing to the maintenance of the household. This is one of the obvious ways in which the increased labour force participation of married women has contributed to the maintenance, perhaps even the promotion, of traditional family formation and family building.

Increased longevity has also contributed to the trends depicted in Table 4.1 and is revealed in the drop in the percentage share of widowed heads. In this connection, some comments on the improvements in survival of males and females are in order. The recent greater improvements in survival for females than for males, particularly for those 40 and over, have already been noted in an earlier section. Over the period 1930 - 32 to 1970 - 72, the average remaining lifetime for Canadian females at age 45 had increased by 5.5 years, while for males of the same age, the corresponding figure was 1.0 year. The effect of this differential has revealed itself in the absolute figures for the widowed heads of census families, by sex.

Between 1951 and 1971, a minimal increase of close to 6,000 widowed heads of families was the result of a decrease of about 13,000 male widowed heads of families, and an increase of about 19,000 female widowed heads of census families. These differences were the result of greater improvements in female survival rates. Also, older women in 1971 were often pre-deceased by their husbands because at the time of their marriages the traditional age gap at marriage prevailed. And finally, men tend to have a higher remarriage rate than women (Kuzel and Krishnan, 1973).

TABLE 4.3. Divorces and Crude Divorce Rates, Canada, All Years, 1921 - 74

Year	Divorces	Crude divorce rate per 100,000	Year	Divorces	Crude divorce rate per 100,000
1921	558	6.4	1948	6,978	54.4
1922	543	6.1	1949	6,052	45.0
1923	505	5.6	1950	5,386	39.3
1924	540	5.9	1951	5,270	37.6
1925	550	5.9	1952	5,650	39.1
1926	608	6.4	1953	6,160	41.5
1927	748	7.8	1954	5,923	38.7
1928	790	8.0	1955	6,053	38.6
1929	817	8.2	1956	6,002	37.3
1930	875	8.6	1957	6,688	40.3
1931	700	6.8	1958	6,279	36.8
1932	1,006	9.6	1959	6,543	37.4
1933	930	8.8	1960	6,980	39.1
1934	1,122	10.5	1961	6,563	36.0
1935	1,431	13.2	1962	6,768	36.4
1936	1,570	14.3	1963	7,686	40.6
1937	1,833	16.6	1964	8,623	44.7
1938	2,228	20.0	1965	8,974	45.7
1939	2,073	18.4	1966	10,239	51.2
1940	2,416	21.2	1967	11,165	54.8
1941	2,462	21.4	1968	11,343	54.8
1942	3,091	26.5	1969	26,093	124.2
1943	3,398	28.8	1970	29,775	139.8
1944	3,827	32.0	1971	29,685	137.6
1945	5,101	42.3	1972	32,389	148.4
1946	7,757	63.1	1973	36,704	166.1
1947	8,213	65.4	1974	45,019	200.6

Source: Statistics Canada, *Vital Statistics, Volume II, Marriages and Divorces, 1974*, Catalogue 84-205, Table 11, p. 27.

By grouping the data for widowed and divorced heads of families in Table 4.1, it is possible to evaluate the impact of marital and family dissolution by both death and divorce in Canada. When we look at the figures in this way, it becomes evident that the percentage of families dissolved by both death and divorce was less in 1971 than it was in 1951, and that, insofar as cause of family dissolution is concerned, death had decreased in importance while divorce has become more important.

Table 4.3 depicts the increases in the number of divorces and the crude divorce rate (that is, in the number of divorces per 100,000 of population), particularly the sharp increase in divorce after the passing of Canada's more liberal Divorce Law in 1968. Canadian divorce statistics before 1968 reflected only very poorly the incidence of marriage breakdown. The dramatic increase in divorce, which followed the passing of the new Divorce Act, was undoubtedly caused by the granting of a large backlog of divorces to couples whose marital unions had probably long since been terminated by separation. In spite of this initial flood of postponed divorces, the number of divorces and the crude divorce rate have continued to rise, as is evident in Table 4.3 and as has been shown in some recent studies of divorce in this country (Canada, 1974c; Peters, 1976). All the evidence seems to point to a continued rise in both absolute and relative terms in separated and divorced heads of census families.

At the same time, however, there has also been an increase in remarriage in Canada. The figures in Table 4.1 do not show in how many cases the census families are based on unions of spouses who remarried after the death of a spouse or after a divorce, since the census schedule up to 1971 has asked information on first marriage only. However, vital statistics on bridegrooms and brides by marital status disclose in an indirect way the effects of remarriage on the trends in married family heads depicted in Table 4.1.

Table 4.4 presents percentage distributions of brides and bridegrooms of single, widowed and divorced marital status. These vital statistics are available on an annual basis in Statistics Canada's Vital Statistics bulletins. However, only the statistics for 1926, 1943, each subsequent census year, and then for 1974 have been used in Table 4.4.

In 1926, 90.4% of total bridegrooms and 92.9% of total brides were single. Since only 0.7% and 0.8% of total bridegrooms and brides, respectively, reported their marital status as divorced, the balance of bridegrooms and brides, at 8.9% and 6.3%, respectively, were widowed. As may be seen in Table 4.4, there have been declines in the percentages that widowed bridegrooms and brides make up of the total, and increases in brides and bridegrooms reporting divorced as their marital status. An abrupt rise in the percentages of brides and bridegrooms who were divorced occurred in 1969, due to the effects of the passing of Canada's new Divorce Act in 1968. In 1971, the percentages of brides and grooms who were single were about the same for both sexes at 88.4% and 88.3%, respectively.

TABLE 4.4. Percentage Distribution of Brides and Bridegrooms, by Marital Status, Canada, Selected Years¹

Sex and marital status	1926	1931	1941 ² (1943)	1951	1956	1961	1966	1971	1974
Male									
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Single	90.4	90.5	92.3	91.6	92.0	91.5	91.4	88.3	85.9
Widowed	8.9	8.4	5.8	5.0	4.4	4.5	3.9	3.6	3.4
Divorced	0.7	1.0	1.0	3.4	3.6	4.0	4.6	8.1	10.7
Female									
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Single	92.9	93.4	93.6	91.8	91.6	91.1	91.3	88.4	86.6
Widowed	6.3	5.7	4.5	5.0	4.8	5.1	4.4	4.1	3.8
Divorced	0.8	0.9	1.9	3.2	3.6	3.8	4.3	7.5	9.6

¹ Newfoundland, Yukon and Northwest Territories excluded prior to 1951.

² For this census year, 1943 figures are used. It was discovered only in 1943 that for a period of years these data had been improperly altered. Since corrected figures are only available for 1943, the latter have been used here.

Source: 1941 Census of Canada, Vol. I, Table XI; and Statistics Canada, *Vital Statistics, 1973*, Catalogue 84-205, Table 11.

However, for bridegrooms, only 3.6% were widowed as compared with 8.1% who were divorced. For brides, comparable figures were 4.1% widowed and 7.5% divorced. By 1974, divorced bridegrooms had increased their share to 10.7% of total bridegrooms, and divorced brides had increased their share to 9.6% of total brides. It is obvious, therefore, that although Canadians have been divorcing more, they have also been remarrying more, contributing in this way to the maintenance of high and fairly stable percentages of married family heads.

The spectacular increase in never-married heads in both absolute and relative terms over the 30-year period for which figures are presented in Table 4.1 also deserves some comment. Although such heads of families made up the smallest proportion of total heads, their numbers have increased ninefold in 20 years, from about 4,800 in 1951 to just about 37,000 in 1971. During the first 10 years of this 20-year period, the number of never-married heads of families almost doubled, but during the last 10 years, their numbers quadrupled. Although a certain (as yet undetermined) part of this increase may have been due to 1971 data processing problems as indicated in footnote 2, the general outlines of a real trend of increase, particularly marked over 1966 - 77, require some explanation. For this purpose, it is necessary to determine what categories of family heads are described as never married in the Canadian census.

Never-married family heads include never-married "parents" of guardianship or adopted children who are related. In this case, the parent may be, for example, an unwed aunt or uncle or a minor orphaned ward. Also included are never-married "parents" of guardianship or adopted children to whom such parents are not related. This category refers to those families in which the unwed

head is not the natural or biological parent but the adoptive parent of the child. And lastly, there are those families headed by unwed parents who have decided to keep, maintain and rear their illegitimate children. Unfortunately, it is not possible in the Canadian census data to distinguish among these three groups of never-married family heads. However, it is possible to surmise which group in particular probably contributed to the increase over 1951 - 71 in never-married family heads. Because of the considerable improvements in mortality already noted, the adoption of orphans by other family members has certainly decreased. We also know that the adoption of children by bachelors and spinsters is going ahead in Canada. However, the incidence of such adoptions is very low.

In view of the increase in illegitimacy rates over 1951 - 61 (Henripin, 1972), and the trends in illegitimate births over the two decades from 1951 - 71, it may be assumed that never-married parents who decided to keep and rear their illegitimate children have contributed substantially to the increases in family heads of never-married status revealed in Table 4.1. The annual statistics compiled for illegitimate births as defined in the Canadian Vital Statistics show that over the 20 years between 1950 and 1970, there was an increase in the absolute numbers of such births, a decline being reported only in 1971. Paradoxically, the increase in illegitimate births was particularly pronounced during the 1960's, a decade that witnessed drastic declines in over-all fertility in Canada. Furthermore, this increase in illegitimacy during the 1960's occurred in a climate that became progressively more hospitable to unwed mothers keeping and rearing their children than it ever had been previously. And, indeed, there was an observable trend in this direction, giving cause to speculate whether Canada was witnessing the emergence of a new family form - the voluntary one-parent family, with never-married head.

Primary family headship rates by age, sex and selected marital status categories of head, available in a Statistics Canada publication (Canada, 1975b), confirm that there was a real increase, particularly over 1966 - 71, in never-married heads of census families, especially female heads. Within the limitations of the data processing problems noted in footnote 2, these figures may also provide a clue to part of the marked increase in such families over 1966 - 71. Since the growth in both primary and secondary family headship of the never married was particularly pronounced for women in the ages 25 - 34 and 35 - 44, it may be that part of the recent increase in one-parent families with never-married heads has been due to improved reporting, and therefore to the greater visibility of such families in the official statistics.³ Judging from the relevant 1971 Census statistics, it would seem that never-married parents and their illegitimate offspring now occupy a visible place, among other families, on the Canadian scene. Unfortunately, the examination of the characteristics, viability and duration of such families is not possible in any depth or detail on the basis of the official Canadian demographic statistics used in this study (Wargon, 1974a).

See footnote(s) on page 126.

4.1.2. Trends in Husband-wife and in One-parent Families, by Age, Sex and Marital Status of Head, Canada, 1931 - 71

To discern in greater detail the pattern of the general trends in families described in the foregoing text, it is appropriate to elaborate on trends in families according to structure, and according to age, sex and marital status of head. Comparable data for husband-wife families (that is, those families in which the husband and wife are both at home) and all other families (that is, one-parent families, including those in which the lone parent reported married or never married as the marital status) are presented in Table 4.5 for the census years from 1941 - 71.

The figures in Table 4.5 show that there was an increase in the proportion of husband-wife families up to 1966, and a small drop in 1971. The contribution of divorced and never-married heads to this trend over 1966 - 71 has already been discussed in the previous section. Although in all years, in both absolute and relative terms, the widowed, ostensibly in the oldest ages, made up the largest share of one-parent family heads, this share declined particularly over the five years between 1966 and 1971. On the other hand, in the case of both the divorced and never married, their absolute numbers and percentage share of total one-parent families rose markedly over the last 20 years from 1951 - 71, as may be seen in Table 4.6. For the divorced, the rise was from 3.1% in 1951 to over 12% in 1971. For the never married, their relative share of the total rose from 1.5% in 1951 to about 7.7% in 1971. Furthermore, the increases were most marked for the last half of the 1961 - 71 decade.

It will be remembered that up to and including the 1971 Census, traditional census practices have always designated the husband, if present at home, as the head of the family. Thus, over 90% of those reported as heads of census families in the Canadian census have always been male. On the other hand, female heads of one-parent families have always constituted less than 10% of total heads. Female lone-parent heads of families, as a percentage of total heads, declined from 9.0%

TABLE 4.5. Husband-wife and One-parent Families, Canada, 1941 - 71

Type of family		1941	1951	1956	1961	1966	1971
Total family heads	No. %	2,509,664 100.0	3,287,384 100.0	3,711,500 100.0	4,147,444 100.0	4,526,266 100.0	5,070,680 100.0
Husband and wife both at home.	No. %	2,202,707 87.8	2,961,685 90.1	3,393,061 91.4	3,800,026 91.6	4,154,381 91.8	4,591,940 90.6
One parent only at home (including one-parent married heads).	No. %	306,957 12.2	325,699 9.9	318,439 8.6	347,418 8.4	371,885 8.2	478,740 9.4

Source: 1941 Census of Canada, Vol. I, Table X; 1951 Census of Canada, Vol. III, Table 136; 1956 Census of Canada, Vol. I, Table 56; 1961 Census of Canada, Vol. II, Part 1, Table 73; 1966 Census of Canada, Vol. II, Table 79; and 1971 Census of Canada, Bulletin 2.2-4, Table 34.

in 1941 to 7.6% in 1951. This was followed by a period of relative stability to 1966, at 6.6%, in the share of one-parent female family heads. However, this share increased to 7.5% in 1971.

What age patterns have figured in these increases in one-parent and in female family heads over 1966 - 71? Table 4.7, which gives the percentage distributions of family heads by sex and age, permits us to examine this question since husband-wife families are exclusively headed by males, while one-parent families are mostly headed by females. Within the limitations of the qualifications noted in footnote 2, it can be surmised from Table 4.7 that female heads of one-parent families in the ages 15 - 34 have contributed more than have male heads of two-parent or husband-wife families to the "younging" of all family heads. Indeed, as may be seen in Table 4.7, there was a continued rise, between 1961 and 1971, in the percentage of female heads who were both under 25 and 25 - 34. This was in contrast to male heads in the corresponding ages for whom the percentage share rose only for those in the ages under 25. Female family heads under 35 who constituted about 15.3% of total female heads in 1941 increased their share by 1971 to 24.3%. This was considerably greater than the gains over the same period by male heads. The recent "younging" of the age distribution of family heads and the greater "younging" of one-parent than of husband-wife family heads is further demonstrated in Table 4.8.

TABLE 4.6. One-parent Families by Marital Status of Head, Canada, 1951 - 71

Marital status of head	1951	1956	1961	1966	1971
Numerical distribution					
One-parent families	325,699	318,439	347,418	371,885	478,740
Married ¹	94,119	84,343	108,799	112,051	161,290
Widowed	216,641	216,924	213,657	226,950	222,625
Divorced	10,108	12,341	15,636	22,115	57,875
Never married	4,831	4,831	9,326	10,769	36,950
Percentage distribution					
One-parent families	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Married ¹	28.9	26.5	31.3	30.1	33.7
Widowed	66.5	68.1	61.5	61.0	46.5
Divorced	3.1	3.9	4.5	6.0	12.1
Never married	1.5	1.5	2.7	2.9	7.7

¹ Includes the categories "married, spouse absent" and "separated".

Source: 1951 Census of Canada, Vol. III, Table 136; 1956 Census of Canada, Vol. I, Table 56; 1961 Census of Canada, Vol. II, Table 73; 1966 Census of Canada, Vol. II, Table 79; and 1971 Census of Canada, Bulletin 2.2-4, Table 34.

TABLE 4.7. Percentage Distribution of Census Family Heads by Sex and Age, Canada, 1941-71

Sex and age	1941 ¹	1951	1956	1961	1966	1971
All family heads	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
15-34 years	24.6	27.8	28.0	27.6	26.9	29.4
15-24 years . . . . .	..	..	..	4.5	5.1	6.4
25-34 " . . . . .	..	..	..	23.4	21.8	23.1
35-64 years	62.8	59.2	59.0	59.9	60.9	58.8
65 years and over	12.6	13.0	12.9	12.4	12.2	11.8
Male family heads	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
15-34 years	25.9	28.8	29.0	28.5	27.6	29.9
15-24 years . . . . .	..	..	..	4.5	5.1	6.3
25-34 " . . . . .	..	..	..	23.9	22.5	23.5
35-64 years	62.9	59.4	59.2	60.1	61.0	58.8
65 years and over	11.2	11.8	11.8	11.5	11.3	11.4
Female family heads	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
15-34 years	11.0	16.2	14.0	15.3	16.3	24.3
15-24 years . . . . .	..	..	..	4.0	4.2	6.7
25-34 " . . . . .	..	..	..	11.3	12.1	17.6
35-64 years	61.9	57.4	57.4	58.3	59.4	59.0
65 years and over	27.0	26.4	28.7	26.4	24.3	16.7

¹ These percentages have been calculated on the basis of the total of married, widowed and divorced since in 1941, the totals by age, comparable to the other years shown, are not available (see 1941 Census of Canada, Vol. I, Table X, p. 443).

.. Figures not available.

Source: 1941 Census of Canada, Vol. V, Table 19; 1951 Census of Canada, Vol. III, Table 136; 1956 Census of Canada, Vol. I, Table 56; 1961 Census of Canada, Vol. II, Part I, Table 73; 1966 Census of Canada, Vol. II, Table 79; and 1971 Census of Canada, Bulletin 2.2-6, Table 50.

TABLE 4.8. Percentage Distribution of Husband-wife and One-parent Families by Age of Head, Canada, 1931-71

Type of family and age of head	1931	1941	1951	1956	1961	1966	1971
Husband-wife families	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
15-34 years	25.2	26.7	29.3	29.5	28.8	27.9	30.1
35-44 "	27.9	24.7	25.9	26.1	26.0	25.7	23.4
45-54 "	23.7	38.2 ¹	19.4	19.9	20.8	21.0	20.5
55-64 "	23.3 ²	..	14.2	13.2	13.3	14.3	14.9
65 years and over . . . . .	..	10.4	11.2	11.3	11.0	11.0	11.2
One-parent families	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
15-34 years	11.0	9.3	14.0	12.9	14.3	15.3	23.5
35-44 "	17.1	14.8	16.9	17.3	18.5	19.3	21.0
45-54 "	24.0	47.2 ¹	20.0	20.1	21.6	22.7	22.5
55-64 "	47.8 ²	..	20.3	19.3	17.3	17.2	15.8
65 years and over . . . . .	..	28.6	28.8	30.4	28.3	25.6	17.1

¹ Refers to age group 45-64 years.

² Refers to age group 55 years and over.

.. Figures not available.

Source: 1931 Census of Canada, Vol. V, Table 88; 1941 Census of Canada, Vol. V, Table 19; 1951 Census of Canada, Vol. III, Table 136; 1956 Census of Canada, Vol. I, Table 56; 1961 Census of Canada, Vol. II, Part I, Table 73; 1966 Census of Canada, Vol. II, Table 79; and 1971 Census of Canada, Bulletin 2.2-6, Table 50.

The statistics in this table reveal the effects of increasing proportions of the younger population marrying (aided by a gradually lowering age at marriage for both men and women) between 1931 and 1956, but particularly over the period 1941 - 56. Although this trend levelled off in 1961, and there was a decline to 27.9% in 1966 for husband-wife families in the ages under 35, the percentage of husband-wife family heads under 35 reached a high point of 30.1% in 1971. At the same time, the share of one-parent family heads under 35 rose steadily from 1956, and rose abruptly and in a more pronounced fashion than that for husband-wife family heads over the five-year period from 1966 - 71. The contribution to this development by female heads in the youngest age groups has already been noted. The statistics in Table 4.8 show how the dissolution of families over the period covered has shifted from the middle and older ages to the younger ages, and by implication, from being caused by death to being caused by separation and divorce.

The increasing shares of husband-wife and one-parent family heads in the younger ages over the period 1966 - 71 has been partly due to the coming of age of the post-Second World War baby-boom children. However, primary family headship rates for married-spouse-present male heads of families, and for ever-married female heads of families in the corresponding ages (Canada, 1975b), indicate that there was a real increase in the formation of husband-wife families headed by males. The rates also show an increase of lone-parent families headed by females in the younger ages. In other words, the young continue to form husband-wife families, but more than ever young women are becoming heads of families and by implication (due to definitional constraints to 1971), heads of lone-parent families.

It is also important to consider the changes in the distributions of family heads according to the structure of the family, *within* each age group. The figures indicated in the sources to Table 4.8 permit a calculation of the percentage distribution of husband-wife and one-parent families within each age group (Wargon, 1976b). Such statistics demonstrate that the "younging" of one-parent family heads was quite marked as compared with that for husband-wife family heads. Consequently, in terms of total family heads 15 - 34 years, there was a slight decline in the share of husband-wife family heads and an increase of one-parent family heads relative to total heads in this younger age group.

A certain caution must be exercised in interpreting such statistics, due to the apparent and as yet undetermined over-estimation of one-parent families in the youngest ages as noted in footnote 2. Despite the obvious limitations and qualifications imposed by this problem, the outlines of a general trend of increase in one-parent families among the young are clear. It will be remembered that increases in families of never-married parents in the younger ages contributed to the growth of lone-parent families during the last half of the 1961 - 71 decade. In addition, the downward trend in the age at marriage during the 1940's and 1950's, and the recently liberalized Divorce Law in Canada both combined to contribute to the increased dissolution of marriage, by separation and divorce among the

young. It has been reported that the highest percentages of total divorces for the period 1969 - 71 were for those who had previously married in the youngest ages (Canada, 1974b). This has also been confirmed in another study (Peters, 1976). Peters points to a number of social factors that have contributed to the divorce rate in Canada and that suggest a continued increase. He cites the gradual reduction of restrictive religious and social norms against divorce, influenced by the increased exposure of adults and children to those already divorced; the fact that marriage is viewed more and more as an institution that should exist for promoting individual happiness, growth and companionship; and the growing attitude that divorce is perhaps less detrimental to children than an unhappy or unsatisfactory home life with contentious parents.

On the whole, however, the statistics presented in this and the foregoing section give us the picture of a country in which people continue to form and to live in families, and the majority in the traditional complete families. Marriage and the husband-wife conjugal nucleus continue to be the choice of the majority of Canadians, indicating that people in this country still favour the life-style implied by the traditional family form or structure. The fact that never-married persons voluntarily choose to be one-parent family heads, or that some persons choose to forego the civil or legal marriage requirements in favour of consensual or casual unions, does indicate that some Canadians are trying out alternative family forms. However, for the time being, these alternative forms remain marginal, and signal perhaps incipient transformations of the stages in the life history of the individual rather than any fundamental change in the structure of the traditional family form as we know it.

Yet, perceptible changes in the marital status distributions of the population of family heads, such as the increases in separated, divorced and never-married family heads and the demonstrated increases in remarriage reveal that there have been changes in both the attitudes and actions of Canadians regarding the continuity, permanence and purpose of relationships founded on the basis of the traditional family form. The velocity of voluntary family dissolution and family reformation has increased particularly among the young, revealing that Canadians no longer regard first marriage and the family it creates as a sacrosanct, permanent or life-time arrangement. And it is expected that the velocity of voluntary family dissolution and family reformation will continue to increase.

It is of interest to compare these conclusions with those drawn on the basis of cohort data for the United States. Uhlenberg (1974) points out that in the United States relevant data for cohorts of women born during 1890 - 94 and 1930 - 34 demonstrate that there were increases in the proportion of women in the ages 15 - 50 having, what he calls, the "preferred experience" or "preferred life cycle" of marriage, childbearing and of raising children in a family with a husband.

... contrary to much of the literature on family change, the trend over the last 50 years for both whites and non-whites has been toward greater conformance with the traditionally preferred form of the family (Uhlenberg, 1974, p. 291).

However, he goes on to say that the increases in these proportions may have reached their peak and may likely be affected in the future by increasing rates of marital dissolution.

... for both whites and non-whites, it appears that the trend towards increasing uniformity of females following the preferred pattern has come to an end with the 1930 - 34 cohort. Changes in the distribution of females by life cycle will depend most critically upon rates of marital disruption (Uhlenberg, 1974, p. 291).

These conclusions correspond closely to those drawn for Canada in the foregoing text.

4.1.3. Trends in Census Families, by Type of Living Arrangements and by Age, Sex and Marital Status of Head, Canada, 1951 - 71

Relevant statistics for census families by type of living arrangements for all census years for which such information is available confirm the already-noted trend towards the undoubling of families and the increasing identification of the nuclear family with the household in Canada.

Since 1951, the Canadian census has prepared data for families by type, referring to families maintaining and not maintaining own household.⁴ This nomenclature is intended to distinguish between those families in which the head is also the head of the household, therefore maintaining own household and a primary family head; and those families in which the head is not the head of the household in which the family is residing, thus not maintaining own household and a secondary family head. The latter type of family is further broken down into two sub-types: related families, that is, those secondary families in which the head or wife is related to the head of the household; and lodging and other families, that is, those secondary families whose members are not related to the head of the household.

As may be seen in Table 4.9,⁵ since 1951 in Canada, at least nine tenths of all family heads were also the heads of the households in which they were residing. In percentage terms, such heads have shown a rise from 90.2% in 1951 to 96.8% in 1971. In 1951, of a total of close to 3,288,000 census families, about 2,967,000, or some 90% were primary families, that is, the heads of these families were also the heads of the households in which they resided. About 320,600 families or a little less than 10% of total families in the same census year were secondary families, that is, living in households maintained by others. Of these approximately 320,600 secondary families, a little under two-thirds were related to the head of the household while a little over one-third were not related.

See footnote(s) on page 126.

TABLE 4.9. Census Families by Type of Living Arrangements, Canada, 1951 - 71

Type of living arrangement	1951	1956	1961	1966	1971
Numerical distribution					
Total	3,287,384	3,711,500	4,147,444	4,526,266	5,070,685
Maintaining own household . . .	2,966,739	3,425,890	3,911,529	4,345,718	4,898,290
Not maintaining own household	320,645	285,610	235,915	180,548	172,390
Related	201,283	173,935	157,120	134,854	126,775
Not related	119,362	111,675	78,795	45,694	45,615
Lodging .....	..	99,370	72,416	38,583	40,705
Other .....	..	12,305	6,379	7,111	4,910
Percentage distribution					
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Maintaining own household . . .	90.2	92.3	94.3	96.0	96.6
Not maintaining own household	9.8	7.7	5.7	4.0	3.4
Related	6.1	4.7	3.8	3.0	2.5
Not related	3.6	3.0	1.9	1.0	0.9
Lodging .....	..	2.7	1.7	0.8	0.8
Other .....	..	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.1

.. Figures not available.

Source: 1961 Census of Canada, Vol. II, Part 1, Table 78; and 1971 Census of Canada, Bulletin 2.2-2, Table 7.

Since 1951, there has been a consistent increase in the number of total census families and in the number maintaining own household, but the increase of the latter has been greater than that of the former. Thus, the share of primary families climbed steadily from 92.3% in 1956 to 94.3% in 1961 and to 96.0% in 1966, reaching 96.6% of the total in the year of the 1971 Census. The increase was most pronounced in the 1951 - 61 decade as might be expected, since this was the decade of high levels of nuptiality, family formation and family building, and at a time when the housing industry was offering the kinds of housing units Canadian nuclear families required. It was the era of apartment building and of suburban housing growth (Kalbach and McVey, 1971, p. 309).

There were corresponding decreases over the period 1951 - 71 in the absolute number of all secondary families, both related and non-related, as well as in their percentage share of total families. Families not maintaining their own households dropped from 9.8% in 1951 to 3.4% in 1971, that is, by just about two-thirds. Of close to 172,400 secondary families in 1971, nearly 127,000 or close to three-quarters were related to the head of the household in which they were residing.

As might be expected, there are characteristic patterns of family living arrangements by age, sex and marital status of head. Relevant census statistics (not shown here) reveal that husband-wife families are always more likely to be maintaining their own households than one-parent families of either sex. Furthermore, of one-parent families, widowed heads of both sexes are more likely to be primary family heads than those in the other marital status categories. This is no doubt due to the association of widowhood and widowerhood with age. Widowed parents of families are usually in the older age groups, perhaps with children of an age to assist or even to bear the main charge of maintaining the household, and therefore are more likely to be primary family heads than are those lone parents who are separated, divorced or never married. The likelihood of being a primary family head is lowest in the youngest ages and it increases with age, peaking for male heads in the 45 - 64 age range, and then declining somewhat in the oldest age group. Among female heads, the highest percentages maintaining own household were reported for those 65 and over in the 1956 and subsequent censuses. Because of women's greater life expectancy than men, and the greater survival of women in the elderly ages, the latter trend may be something of an artifact. Many elderly females who are widowed are only titular heads of primary families, and in fact, live in households maintained by mature but never-married sons and daughters in the labour force. It is the parents, however, who are designated the heads of their families, due to constraints in the Canadian census family definitions (see Appendix A).

As to the trend over 1951 - 71, relevant statistics indicate that there were increases, at each census date, in the percentages of one-parent families of all marital status categories, and of both sexes and most ages maintaining own household. There were corresponding decreases in those in the same marital status, sex and age groups not maintaining own household. The increase in families maintaining own household from 1951 - 71 characterized every age group of both male and female heads, but particularly those in the youngest age group of heads. Furthermore, the increase was more marked for female heads in the ages under 35 than it was for male heads in these ages. In 1951, only about 43% of female heads under 35 were maintaining their own households as compared with about 83% of male heads in the same age group. By 1971, the gap between male heads and female heads maintaining own household had narrowed: in that census year, 75% of female family heads as compared with 95% of comparable males under 35 were heads of primary families.

However, the statistics in Table 4.10 seem at first glance to tell a different story. It will be noted that, upon examining the relative weight of male and female heads in each of the categories - total families, families maintaining own household and families not maintaining own household - there seems to have been little change over the 20-year period for which figures are given, for total families and primary families. The increase over 1966 - 71 was minimal. Only among secondary families was there a noticeable change, with a drop in the share of male heads and a rise in the share of female heads. How can we explain this in view of the trends described above? The answer is that, due to definitional

constraints up to and including the 1971 Census, which automatically made the husband the head of all husband-wife families, there were more than nine male heads of families to one female head. Furthermore, of total family heads maintaining own household, the ratio of male to female heads was slightly higher. And finally, families maintaining own household constitute almost the whole of total families. Therefore, the weight of the larger number of male heads in the first two columns of Table 4.12 has minimized even significant changes in the type of living arrangements of the much smaller number of female heads.

TABLE 4.10. Percentage Distribution of Census Families by Sex of Head and Type of Living Arrangements, Canada, 1951 - 71

Census year and sex	Total	Maintaining own household	Not maintaining own household
1951			
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Male	92.4	93.4	82.8
Female	7.6	6.6	17.2
1956			
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Male	93.4	94.3	83.1
Female	6.6	5.7	16.9
1961			
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Male	93.4	94.3	79.8
Female	6.6	5.7	20.2
1966			
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Male	93.4	94.0	77.9
Female	6.6	6.0	22.1
1971			
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Male	92.7	93.2	75.1
Female	7.3	6.8	24.9

Source: 1951 Census of Canada, Vol. III, Table 136; 1956 Census of Canada, Vol. I, Table 56; 1961 Census of Canada, Vol. II, Part 1, Table 73; 1966 Census of Canada, Vol. II, Table 79; and 1971 Census of Canada, Bulletin 2.2-6, Table 51.

On the other hand, of the much smaller and declining numbers of family heads not maintaining own households, female heads make up a larger share, and this share has been increasing as the figures in the last column of Table 4.10 verify. This would seem to indicate that declines in the headship of secondary families have been greater for males than females. The latter has undoubtedly been linked to the pronounced increases over recent years in the headship of one-parent families by younger females, some of whom are not able to maintain their own households.

4.2. Trends in Census Families and Children

4.2.1. Trends in Census Families, by Number of Children Under 25 Years at Home, Canada, 1941 - 71

As noted in Chapter 2, the movements in marriage and births in Canada since the late 1930's are evident in the relevant data on census families from the 1941 and subsequent censuses. Changes from 1941 - 71 in the number of census families and in the average size and size distributions of census families reflect changes in nuptiality and fertility over the same period.

Studies have documented in detail the historical and recent trends and patterns in Canadian nuptiality and fertility (Henripin, 1972; Henripin and Légaré, 1970; Canada, 1968, 1976; George and Romaniuc, 1971; Wargon, 1975). The reader is referred to the above sources for elaboration of these trends and for statistics and other explanatory information about contributing factors. In summary, it can be said here that after 1937 and for most of the period 1941 - 71, Canadians were marrying more and at younger ages than ever before, and therefore, more people were engaging in childbearing and family building. The increase in births after the Second World War continued during most of the 1950's and was so pronounced that the term "baby boom" was coined and is still used to refer to the magnitude of fertility in those years. However, in the late 1950's all fertility indexes began to fluctuate and by 1960 it was obvious that a decline in fertility was under way in Canada. The decline, which became steep, continued unabated during the 1960's and into the early 1970's. In 1971, the crude birth rate, at 16.8 per 1,000 of the population, was lower than it had ever been.

The trends in births during the 1940's and 1950's were associated with certain fundamental changes in the family formation practices of couples and in the childbearing patterns of women. In those decades, Canadians were not only marrying more and at younger ages than before, but also more of them were having families of moderate size as measured by the number of children born alive. This contrasted with the wider range of very large, moderate and very small size families that characterized childbearing in the decades before 1941 (Canada, 1968; Wargon, 1975, 1976b). These trends in family size are evident in the census fertility data for ever-married women by age and by number of children ever born

available in the references cited above. There was a marked trend towards the disappearance of very large families (that is, of ever-married women who had borne six or more children), a long-term and continuing trend in Canada; the maintenance of relatively stable proportions of women with five-child families (probably due largely to the decline in the proportions of women with families of six or more children); declines in the relative importance of childless and one-child families, and a striking convergence on the two-child family. In the 1961 Census, the two-child family emerged as the modal family size. This continued to be so in 1971, although the census data for that year reveal certain changes that were to be expected in view of the decline in fertility during the 1960's. The relevant fertility statistics for 1971 reveal that the percentage childless rose over the most recent decade, particularly for women under 30 years of age, and the percentage of women who were under 25 in 1971, with one, two and three children was markedly lower than for women in comparable ages in 1961 (Canada, 1967; Wargon, 1975, 1976b).

Concomitant with these changes associated with the rise in fertility and the changes in the pattern of family size after the Second World War, there was also a shift in the timing and spacing of births within marriage, so that children were born sooner after the marriage of their parents and spaced within shorter intervals of one another than earlier. Along with the declining trend in the age at marriage, this resulted in a marked lowering of the age at childbearing for both mothers and fathers. This pattern of change is revealed in the figures for legitimate births by age of mother and father, available in Statistics Canada's Vital Statistics reports. Of considerable interest are the substantially increased percentages of births to younger mothers and fathers. Not only does this have important social implications, but it also explains certain aspects of the marked fertility decline during the 1960's. Since young women had become responsible for a larger proportion of total births, their reduced fertility can be seen as largely responsible for the substantial declines in fertility during the 1960's and early 1970's.

Family heads by selected age groups of head and by number of children under 25 at home, given in Table 4.11, reflect the trends in number of children ever born described above, specifically: a noticeable shift over 1941-61 away from families with no children, and with only one child at home, which had been the heritage of the depressed 1930's, and a greater propensity to build families of moderate size. The pronounced tendency for the two-child family to become the modal family size in Canada, so distinctly evident in the fertility data, does not appear to the same degree in the census family data in Table 4.11. This is because the statistics in Table 4.11 represent women both in and past the childbearing ages who are reporting on a census questionnaire the number of children they have ever had, even though some of these children may have died or are living elsewhere. On the other hand, the statistics in Table 4.11 represent heads of families who are reporting only children living in the same household at the time of the federal census enumeration.

TABLE 4.11. Percentage Distribution of Census Family Heads, by Age and by Number of Children Under 25 at Home, Canada, 1941, 1951, 1961 - 71

Census year and age of head	Families by number of children under 25 at home					
	Zero	One	Two	Three	Four	Five and more
1941						
Total	31.3	23.5	17.5	10.6	6.4	10.7
15-34 years	31.2	32.0	19.7	9.2	4.3	3.7
35-44 "	14.3	21.2	22.4	14.9	9.6	17.6
45-64 "	27.1	22.5	17.3	11.5	7.5	14.1
65 years and over	76.4	14.2	5.0	2.2	1.1	1.1
1951						
Total	32.3	23.5	19.8	10.9	5.8	7.8
15-34 years	24.3	31.1	25.3	11.3	4.7	3.3
35-44 "	12.7	20.7	26.4	16.9	9.6	13.6
45-54 "	21.9	24.2	20.3	12.4	7.5	13.6
55-64 "	49.5	24.0	11.9	6.3	3.5	4.8
65 years and over	83.0	10.8	3.4	1.4	0.7	0.7
1961						
Total	29.3	20.2	20.6	13.4	7.5	8.9
15-34 years	19.0	26.1	26.6	14.7	8.2	5.3
15-24 years	36.4	39.7	17.7	3.8	2.1	0.3
25-34 "	15.6	23.4	28.4	16.9	9.4	6.3
35-44 years	9.0	15.3	25.8	21.5	12.0	16.4
45-54 "	19.0	23.0	22.8	14.4	8.1	12.7
55-64 "	51.7	23.8	11.8	5.6	3.2	4.0
65 years and over	86.6	8.8	2.6	1.0	0.5	0.5
1966						
Total	28.9	19.5	20.5	14.0	8.0	9.2
15-34 years	20.5	25.2	26.3	15.6	7.4	5.1
15-24 years	41.4	38.0	15.6	3.9	0.8	0.2
25-34 "	15.6	22.2	28.8	18.3	8.9	6.3
35-44 years	7.8	13.2	25.2	21.8	14.4	17.6
45-54 "	17.3	22.8	23.4	15.2	9.1	12.9
55-64 "	49.5	24.8	12.7	6.0	3.1	3.8
65 years and over	87.0	8.6	2.5	1.0	0.4	0.5
1971						
Total	30.5	20.6	21.2	13.4	7.2	7.1
15-34 years	25.9	28.4	26.7	12.1	4.5	2.4
15-24 years	47.0	37.4	12.6	2.2	0.5	0.3
25-34 "	20.0	25.9	30.6	14.8	5.7	2.9
35-44 years	6.8	12.8	26.9	23.7	14.7	15.0
45-54 "	17.0	21.9	23.8	16.0	9.6	11.6
55-64 "	49.9	25.1	12.9	6.0	2.9	3.2
65 years and over	87.5	8.3	2.5	1.0	0.4	0.4

Source: 1941 Census of Canada, Vol. V, Table 19; 1951 Census of Canada, Vol. X, Table 86; 1961 Census of Canada, Vol. II, Part 1, Table 73; 1966 Census of Canada, Vol. II, Table 79; and 1971 Census of Canada, Bulletin 2.2-7, Table 57.

Let us assume that the figures in Table 4.11 for heads in the age group 35 - 44 would show, roughly, families that had just about completed their family building, but in which the children were still young enough to be at home. Over the whole period 1941 - 71, the percentages of children at home, for heads of census families in this age group, show the following general trends: a consistent and dramatic decline in the percentages with no children and with one child at home, the decline being particularly pronounced for those with no children at home (by more than half); an increase in the percentage of heads in this age group with two children at home; increases in those with three and four children at home, the increases over previous census years reported in 1961 being particularly noteworthy; and a decrease in those with five or more children at home over the period 1941 - 71, although there were considerable fluctuations in individual census years. The trends in the figures for family heads 45 - 64 years of age (considered in two 10-year groupings, or as one age group) were more or less similar to those for heads 35 - 44. But the figures for family heads 65 and over confirm the already-noted declining age at parenthood and probably also the trend for older couples to live apart from their unmarried children.

The percentage size distributions of census families as measured by the number of children at home, by sex of head, for those census years from 1941 - 71 for which such information is available (but not shown here) also reveal an interesting pattern of change, particularly over 1966 - 71. Although the percentage of female heads of families with no children at home at 28.1% in 1966 was just about the same as that for males in this census year, by 1971 the percentage of female heads of families with no children fell to about 19.7%, while that for male heads of families had risen to 31.3%. Furthermore, for female heads of families in 1971, higher percentages with one, two, three and four children were reported than in 1966 or than in any previous census year. This was obviously due to the increasing dissolution of marriage among the young and the shift of family dissolution from the older to the younger ages. Female (or one-parent) family heads are more likely now to have children in the ages under 25, and probably children in the very youngest ages living at home than was the case even in the recent past.

4.2.2. Trends in Numbers of Children in Census Families and in Their Distributions, by Age, Canada, 1941 - 71 and Whether at School, Canada, 1961 - 71

The population of children in Canadian census families has been getting older, because of declines in the number of children in the youngest ages and the swelling of the age groups in the 6 - 14 and 15 - 24 year age ranges. The increases in the oldest age group of children in census families over the most recent decade represent the natural coming of age of the large cohorts of children born during the baby-boom years after the Second World War.

The numerical and percentage distributions of children in Canadian census families are shown for selected census years from 1941 - 71 in Table 4.12. Although the age breakdowns for children in this table are not exactly comparable for all census years, the figures show quite clearly why the median age of children in Canada has risen since 1961 (see Section 4.3.2).

TABLE 4.12. Children in Census Families by Age, Canada, 1941, 1951 and 1961 - 71

Age of children	1941	1951	1961	1966	1971
Numerical distribution					
Total children	4,665,531	..	..	..	..
0- 6 years	1,445,796	..	..	..	..
7- 14 "	1,694,108	..	..	..	..
15- 24 "	1,525,927	..	..	..	..
Total children . . . . .	..	5,544,179	..	..	..
0- 5 years . . . . .	..	2,009,730	..	..	..
6- 13 " . . . . .	..	1,981,360	..	..	..
14- 24 " . . . . .	..	1,553,089	..	..	..
14- 17 years . . . . .	..	778,238	..	..	..
18- 24 " . . . . .	..	774,851	..	..	..
Total children . . . . .	..	..	7,777,137	8,656,245	8,848,596
0- 5 years . . . . .	..	..	2,661,724	2,622,477	2,196,780
6- 14 " . . . . .	..	..	3,446,569	3,862,597	4,087,275
15- 24 " . . . . .	..	..	1,668,844	2,171,171	2,564,545
15- 18 years . . . . .	..	..	1,059,808	1,352,469	1,580,905
19- 24 " . . . . .	..	..	609,036	818,702	983,640
Percentage distribution					
Total children	100.0	..	..	..	..
0- 6 years	31.0	..	..	..	..
7- 14 "	36.3	..	..	..	..
15- 24 "	32.7	..	..	..	..
Total children . . . . .	..	100.0	..	..	..
0- 5 years . . . . .	..	36.2	..	..	..
6- 13 " . . . . .	..	35.7	..	..	..
14- 24 " . . . . .	..	28.0	..	..	..
14- 17 years . . . . .	..	14.0	..	..	..
18- 24 " . . . . .	..	14.0	..	..	..
Total children . . . . .	..	..	100.0	100.0	100.0
0- 5 years . . . . .	..	..	34.2	30.3	24.8
6- 14 " . . . . .	..	..	44.3	44.6	46.2
15- 24 " . . . . .	..	..	21.5	25.1	29.0
15- 18 years . . . . .	..	..	13.6	15.6	17.9
19- 24 " . . . . .	..	..	7.8	9.5	11.1

.. Figures not available.

Source: 1941 Census of Canada, Vol. V, Table 19; 1951 Census of Canada, Vol. III, Table 131; 1961 Census of Canada, Vol. II, Part 2, Table 54; 1966 Census of Canada, Vol. II, Table 79; and 1971 Census of Canada, Bulletin 2.2-6, Table 51.

Total children in families, numbering more than 4,500,000 in 1941, experienced steady increases at each census date shown in Table 4.12. An addition of almost 1,000,000 children brought their total to more than 5,500,000 in 1951. Largely because of continued high fertility levels during the 1950's, more than 2,200,000 children were added to Canadian census families over the 10 years between the 1951 and 1961 Censuses, so that in 1961 the number of children in families was reported at above 7,770,000. The increases in the number of children in families continued in 1961, 1966 and 1971. But because of the declining trend in fertility during the 1960's and early 1970's, the additions at each of these census dates were smaller than those reported in the previous census years.

The contributions of children in the age groups under six, 6 - 14 and 15 - 24 are evident from the numerical and percentage distributions given in Table 4.12. Between 1941 and 1951, the increase in the number and in the share of those under six was considerable, judging by the number reported for those under seven in 1941 and for those under six in 1951. By 1951, children under six made up 36.2% of children of all ages in families: in absolute and relative terms they constituted the largest age group of children. At the same time, however, the 10-year period between 1941 and 1951 also allowed for the progression of the larger number of births during the early 1940's into the next age grade of children, that is, those 6 - 13 years, and their numbers swelled so that at the time of the 1951 Census, they made up 35.7% of total children. Between 1951 and 1961, although the number of children under six had increased from close to 2,010,000 - 2,660,000, their share at 34.2% was smaller than in 1951 due to the continued swelling of the ranks of children 6 - 14. The latter in 1961 had boosted their share to 44.3% of total children. Beginning with the 1961 Census, there were absolute and relative declines in the number of children under six, and absolute and relative increases of children in the 6 - 14 and 15 - 24 groups. By 1971, children under six constituted 24.8% or only about one fourth of total children in census families. Thus, in both absolute and relative terms, children in the youngest ages were the smallest age group of children in 1971 as compared with the 6 - 14 and 15 - 24 year olds. Children 6 - 14 numbered more than 4,000,000 in 1971, making up 46.2% of total children, while those 15 - 24, numbering a little above 2,500,000, constituted 29.0% of total children. It is of considerable interest to note in Table 4.12, that in 1971 children under six, at 24.8%, constituted a smaller proportion of total children than they did in 1941, a census year that followed a period of low birth rates in Canada, when children in this youngest age group made up 31.0% of all children. Although from 1961, the number of children 6 - 14 always exceeded those in the other age groups, by 1971 children in these ages exceeded those in the youngest ages by more than 1,800,000, and those in the ages 15 - 24 by more than 1,000,000. Nevertheless, over the decade 1961 - 71, the growth rate of census family children 15 - 24 was higher than that of children 6 - 14.

It is evident from the figures in Table 4.12 that families and family households, as well as non-family households, have shared in the recent growth in

the young adult population in the ages 15 - 24, due to the coming of age of the children born during Canada's post-Second World War baby boom. Using the figures in Table 4.12 to calculate percentage increase in the child population in census families by age, we find that growth in the number of children 19 - 24 was somewhat higher than that for children 15 - 18 over 1961 - 71.

TABLE 4.13. Children 15 Years and Over at School,¹ Canada, 1941, 1961, 1966 and 1971

Age of children	1941	1961	1966	1971
Numerical distribution				
Total children 15 - 24 years ²	1,525,927	1,668,844	2,171,171	2,564,545
At school	409,071	870,396	..	1,682,410
Total children 15-18 years . .	..	1,059,808	1,352,469	1,580,905
At school . . . . .	..	748,714	..	1,301,165
Total children 19-24 years . .	..	609,036	818,702	983,640
At school . . . . .	..	121,682	..	381,245
Percentage distribution				
Total children 15 - 24 years	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
At school	26.8	52.2	..	65.6
Total children 15-18 years . .	..	100.0	100.0	100.0
At school . . . . .	..	70.6	..	82.3
Total children 19-24 years . .	..	100.0	100.0	100.0
At school . . . . .	..	20.0	..	38.8

¹ At school refers to full-time attendance.

² Total children in families in this age category include those at school, and "other", e.g., in labour force, both in labour force and at school, in institutions, etc. Figures and percentages given here are only for the category children in full-time attendance at school.

.. Figures not available.

Source: 1941 Census of Canada, Vol. V, Table 19; 1961 Census of Canada, Vol. II.1, Table 54; 1966 Census of Canada, Vol. II, Table 79; and 1971 Census of Canada, Bulletin 2.2-6, Table 51.

Table 4.13 gives the numerical and percentage distributions of children in Canadian census families for 1961 and 1971, and in the ages 15 - 18 and 19 - 24 who were in full-time attendance at school when enumerated. (This information is available on a comparable basis only for 1961 and 1971. However, 1941 figures

for children 15 - 24 have also been included for purposes of rough comparison.) It will be noted that in 1961 the census family child population 15 - 18 in full-time attendance at school made up about 70% of total children living at home in these ages, while those children 19 - 24 in full-time attendance at school made up 20% of total children in these ages living at home. By 1971, the number of children in both these age groups at school had risen sharply. In the last census year for which information is given in Table 4.13, the number of children 15 - 18 at school had risen markedly over the 1961 level and constituted 82.3% or more than four fifths of children in these ages living at home. For those 19 - 24, the number in full-time attendance at school had more than doubled and, in 1971, slightly more than 381,000 made up 38.8% of total children in these ages living in census families. These increases were attributable not only to the greater number of such children living at home in census families, but also to higher levels of school attendance in Canada for young adults in these ages, particularly those in the 20 - 24 range.

4.2.3. Trends in Numbers of Children in Husband-wife and in One-parent Families, Canada, 1931 - 71

There is a considerable interest in the degree to which children live in two-parent or in one-parent families. This is particularly so because of recent increases in the dissolution of families among the young and in families headed by young females. Tables 4.14 and 4.15 are based on census statistics for number of children and are designed to show what percentages were living in two-parent or in one-parent families at each census date for which information is given. Unfortunately, these tables do not tell us how many of the two-parent families were those in first or lasting marriages, and how many were the result of remarriages. Therefore, it is not possible on the basis of the statistics in these tables to determine with any precision how many children have been "affected" by the dissolution of their parents' marriages and subsequent remarriage of one or both parents. Also, the size of the percentages in these tables for children in one-parent families is very small, due to calculation on the basis of the number of children in total families. Another caution relates to the possible over-estimation of children of one-parent family heads in the youngest ages, due to problems associated with the 1971 data processing described in footnote 2. In spite of these drawbacks, however, the statistics in Tables 4.14 and 4.15 can be considered as indicative, in a general way, of the degree to which Canadian children have been and are living in families with two parents or in families with one parent.

According to the statistics in Table 4.14, there was a consistent increase at each census date from 1931 - 56 in the percentages of children living with two parents and a consistent and considerable decrease in the percentage of children living with one parent. Children living in husband-wife families increased as a proportion of the total children from about 88.1% in 1931 to 93.4% in 1956. Meanwhile, children under 25 living with a lone parent decreased as a percentage of total children in census families by almost one-half, from 11.9% in 1931 to 6.6% in 1956. The drop, of course, was mainly due to declines in children living with male and female widowed parents as may be verified in Table 4.15, and is

attributable to the marked improvements in life expectancy for both men and women. In addition, the higher percentages of children living with female than with male parents who have been widowed are explained by the greater life expectancy of women than of men, and the higher remarriage rates of men. While in 1931, 2.8% of total children in census families lived with a male widowed parent, the corresponding figure for female lone parents in the same marital status category was 6.3%. By 1961 these percentages had declined to 0.6% for male widowed parents and to 2.6% for female widowed parents and these percentages remained fairly stable over 1961 - 71. Considering these changes over the period 1931 - 71, it is probable that, in addition to the improvements in survival, the younger age of men and women at parenthood during and after the 1940's, already commented upon, also contributed to the increasing likelihood that children in Canadian families will have grown to adulthood before losing their parents by death.

TABLE 4.14. Percentage Distribution of Children Living in Husband-wife and in One-parent Census Families, Giving Marital Status and Sex of Head, Canada,¹ 1931 - 71

Marital status and sex of head	1931	1941 ²	1951	1956	1961	1966	1971
Total children	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Husband-wife family	88.1	90.4	92.0	93.4	93.6	93.3	90.5
One-parent families	11.9	9.6	8.0	6.6	6.4	6.7	9.5
Male	3.6	2.8	1.8	1.6	1.4	1.2	2.1
Female	8.3	6.9	6.2	5.0	5.0	5.5	7.4
Married	0.8	0.4	0.6	0.7	0.7	0.5	0.9
Widowed	2.8	2.1	1.1	0.8	0.6	0.6	0.6
Divorced . . . . .	..	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.2
Single . . . . .	..	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3
Male	1.9	1.3	2.5	1.7	2.0	2.2	3.1
Female	6.3	4.6	3.4	2.9	2.6	2.7	2.9
Divorced	0.1	1.0	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.4	1.1
Single . . . . .	..	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.4

¹ Newfoundland excluded prior to 1951. Yukon and Northwest Territories excluded prior to 1961.

² In 1941, "divorced" includes those permanently separated.

.. Figures not available.

Source: 1931 Census of Canada, Vol. V, Table 94; 1941 Census of Canada, Vol. I, Table 107, and Vol. V, Table 19; 1951 Census of Canada, Vol. III, Table 136; 1956 Census of Canada, Vol. I, Table 56; 1961 Census of Canada, Vol. II, Part I, Table 73; 1966 Census of Canada, Vol. II, Table 79; and 1971 Census of Canada, Bulletin 2.2-6, Table 51.

Of considerable interest in Table 4.14 is the trend that emerges after 1956 and particularly for the decade 1961 - 71. Although the percentage of children living in two-parent families remained at about the same level in 1966 as in 1961 at 93.3% and 93.6% respectively, there was a marked decline to 90.5% in 1971, that is, almost to the 1941 level. There was a concomitant increase in the percentage of children living with one-parent heads of families from 6.6% and 6.4% in 1956 and 1961, respectively, to 9.5% in 1971. The changes resulted from

more children living with male and female lone parents, particularly from 1961 - 71. It is noteworthy that the increases were more marked for children living with female lone parents. Although the percentage of children living with one-parent heads of families in the divorced category increased consistently for both sexes, the increases were greater for female family heads, particularly over 1961 - 71. This may be attributed to the fact that when a marriage is dissolved by divorce, it is still usually the woman who retains custody of the children. And in addition, men remarry more readily than women.

Table 4.15 is based on the same sources as Table 4.14 although it begins only with the 1941 Census. However, it expands the information for husband-wife and one-parent family heads by age of head. The statistics for husband-wife families reflect the trend over the period 1941 - 61 of the lowering of the age at parenthood, with steadily increasing percentages of children living with parents in the ages up to 45. In this connection, it is noteworthy that the percentage of children living in all one-parent families with head under 35 remained fairly stable over the period 1956 - 66 but increased markedly between 1966 and 1971, particularly for female heads in the youngest ages. The role of the increasing divorce among the young is obvious.

On the whole, it would seem that improvements in controlling mortality had the effect of increasing to about 1966 the percentage of children living with two parents. This means that, since 1931, children increasingly had the "advantage" of two parents as they grew into early adulthood. On the other hand, between 1961 and 1971 there was an increase in the percentage of children living in families headed by one parent, and particularly in lone-parent families headed by females in the younger ages. This means that, more recently, children have been increasingly "exposed" in their earliest formative years to living in families with a parent whose marriage has been dissolved not by death but by separation or divorce, or who chose voluntary never-married parenthood. Kingsley Davis has seen fit to speculate that the dissolution of marriage, with both parents remaining alive (albeit separated, divorced or remarried) is perhaps less of a loss, in a social and economic sense, for a child than the loss of a parent through death (Davis, 1974). Be that as it may, present and expected trends in divorce in Canada indicate the need for some assessment of the effects upon children of marriage dissolution and the greater velocity of family breakdown and reformation. This assessment must be left to sociologists and social practitioners; it cannot be made by demographers on the basis of official statistics.

4.3. Trends in the Demographic Composition of Census Families

4.3.1. Trends in the Median Age of the Population, Census Family Heads and Children in Families, Canada, 1931 - 71

The median, one of the three measures of central tendency, is that measure which divides a distribution into two equal parts, such that one half of the distribution lies below and one-half lies above the median. It should be kept in

TABLE 4.15. Percentage Distribution of Children Living in Husband-wife and in One-parent Census Families by Age of Family Head, Canada, 1941 - 71

Age of family head	1941	1951	1956	1961	1966	1971
Total children	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Husband-wife families	90.4	92.0	93.4	93.6	93.3	90.5
15-34 years	17.0	23.7	25.7	26.0	24.3	22.6
15-24 years . . . . .	..	..	..	2.0	2.0	..
25-34 " . . . . .	..	..	..	24.0	22.3	..
35-44 years	30.9	34.7	35.8	36.3	36.9	34.8
45-64 "	40.1	31.8	30.3	30.1	31.0	32.0
45-54 years . . . . .	..	23.4	23.1	23.5	23.9	24.4
55-64 " . . . . .	..	8.4	7.2	6.6	7.1	7.5
65 years and over	2.3	1.8	1.6	1.2	1.1	1.1
One-parent families	9.6	8.0	6.6	6.4	6.7	9.5
15-34 years	1.1	1.6	1.2	1.3	1.4	2.6
15-24 years . . . . .	..	..	..	0.2	0.2	..
25-34 " . . . . .	..	..	..	1.1	1.2	..
35-44 years	2.5	2.4	2.0	2.0	2.2	3.1
45-64 "	5.5	3.7	3.0	2.8	2.9	3.6
45-54 years . . . . .	..	2.4	2.0	1.9	2.0	2.6
55-64 " . . . . .	..	1.3	1.0	0.8	0.8	1.0
65 years and over	0.5	0.4	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.2
Male	2.8	1.8	1.6	1.4	1.2	2.1
15-34 years	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.5
15-24 years . . . . .	..	..	..	0.0	0.0	..
25-34 " . . . . .	..	..	..	0.2	0.1	..
35-44 years	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.6
45-64 "	1.8	1.1	0.9	0.7	0.6	0.8
45-54 years . . . . .	..	0.6	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.6
55-64 " . . . . .	..	0.4	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.3
65 years and over	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1
Female	6.9	6.2	5.0	5.0	5.5	7.4
15-34 years	1.0	1.4	1.0	1.1	1.3	2.1
15-24 years . . . . .	..	..	..	0.2	0.2	..
25-34 " . . . . .	..	..	..	0.9	1.0	..
35-44 years	2.0	2.0	1.6	1.7	1.8	2.4
45-64 "	3.6	2.7	2.1	2.1	2.2	2.8
45-54 years . . . . .	..	1.8	1.4	1.5	1.6	2.0
55-64 " . . . . .	..	0.9	0.7	0.6	0.6	0.8
65 years and over	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1

.. Figures not available.

Source: 1941 Census of Canada, Vol. I, Table 107, and Vol. V, Table 19; 1951 Census of Canada, Vol. III, Table 136; 1956 Census of Canada, Vol. I, Table 56; 1961 Census of Canada, Vol. II, Part I, Table 73; 1966 Census of Canada, Vol. II, Table 79; and 1971 Census of Canada, unpublished data.

Total children 8,855,045
 Total children in husband-wife families 8,012,266
 Total children in one-parent families 842,779

mind that even small movements in the median are important. For example, in the case of the median age of a population, it takes appreciable additions to the younger or to the older half of the age distribution to move the median age down or up even slightly (Canada, 1964).

TABLE 4.16. Median Age of Population, Census Family Heads, and Children in Census Families, Canada, 1931 - 71

(Including Newfoundland from 1951)

	1931	1941	1951	1956	1961	1966	1971
Children in families . . . . .	..	11.2	9.1	9.0	9.2	10.0	10.9
All family heads: ¹							
Total	45.1	45.5	43.9	43.6	43.9	44.6	43.9
Male . . . . .	..	..	43.3	43.1	43.3	43.7	43.6
Female . . . . .	..	..	53.0	54.0	52.0	51.1	47.2
Husband-wife families	43.9	44.4	43.0	42.8	43.1	43.6	43.5
One-parent families	54.1	50.5	54.6	54.8	53.0	51.8	47.4
Family heads under 45 years ²	35.6	..	..	..	34.5	34.6	33.6
Canadian population	24.8	27.1	27.7	27.2	26.3	25.5	26.3
Canadian population under 45 years	18.6	19.9	19.6	18.5	17.3	17.4	18.6

¹ Using 1931 figures adjusted to accord with the 1941 definition of census family. See Table 2.1 A, footnote 5.

² Not possible to calculate for 1941, 1951 and 1956, because of unavailability of detailed ages for the under 35 age group.

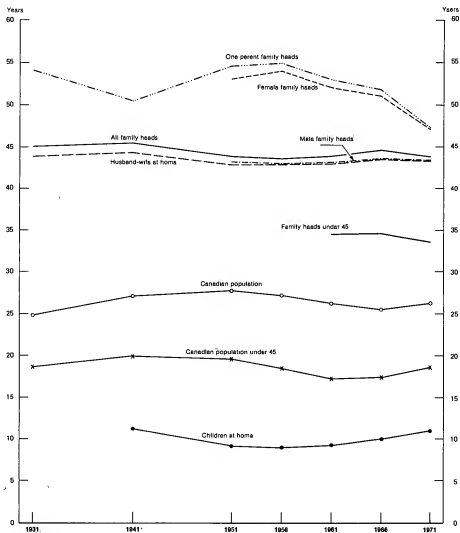
.. Figures not available.

Regarding children in census families, the median age as given in Table 4.16 and depicted in Chart 4.2 has been calculated on the basis of the age distribution of children who are living at home and who are in the ages 0 - 24.⁶ On the other hand, the calculations of the median age of census family heads, which are given in Table 4.16, are based on the relevant population 15 and over only. Therefore, in this table, only the median for the total population includes those in all age groups. The trend in the median age of census family children for the census years in Table 4.16 shows clearly the effects of recent trends in fertility of Canada. The drop in the median age from 11.2 in 1941 to 9.1 in 1951 was due to the considerable additions to the child population in the youngest ages during the 1940's. During the 1950's, continuing high nuptiality, high rates of family formation and the maintenance of high fertility levels among the younger married population kept the median age of the child population at 9.0 years in 1956. After a slight rise in 1961 over this 1956 level to 9.2 years, the median age of children in census families continued to rise in subsequent census years. The rise from 1961 can be attributed to the sharp decline in fertility during the 1960's which, because it meant reduced births, gave increasingly greater weight in the age distribution of children to those in the teens and the early twenties, causing the median age to move up. As may be seen in Table 4.16, the median age of children in census families, as calculated on the basis of 1971 Census data, reached

See footnote(s) on page 126.

Chart - 4.2

Median Age of Population, Census Family Heads, and Children in Census Families, Canada, 1931-71



Source: Table 4.15.

a high of 10.9 years. This is very close to the corresponding measure for the census year 1941, when the median age of children at about 11.2 reflected the effects of the low birth rates of the 1930's. The statistics given in Table 4.16 and graphically represented in Chart 4.2 are of particular interest, when those for total family heads by sex are examined alongside those for husband-wife families.

Also of interest is the comparison of the median age of husband-wife family heads with that for male family heads, and the median age of one-parent family heads with that for female family heads. The median age of total census family heads has always been close to that for heads of husband-wife families, due to the fact that the latter make up the largest proportion of total families. Since husband-wife family heads are exclusively male, the changes in the median age of male heads have also paralleled the changes in the median age of husband-wife family heads. Similarly, the median age of heads of one-parent families and of female family heads since 1951 shows a remarkable but expected similarity in level and trend. The median age of one-parent family heads and of female heads of families declined consistently from 1956 and considerably between 1966 and 1971. In 1971, the median age of heads of one-parent families and of female heads of census families was just about identical at 47 years. The sharp drop in these medians over 1966-71 was, of course, due to the combination of improvements in longevity, which meant that many two-parent families remained intact, and the simultaneous "younging" of one-parent families described in detail earlier in this chapter. The "younging" of one-parent family heads has also obviously affected the median age of total family heads, that dropped in 1971 from its 1966 level.

In conclusion, it will be noted that, although the median age of the population as a whole has risen between 1966 and 1971 (because of trends in births and deaths), and although the trend in the median age under 45 has been on the rise since 1961 (due to the trend in births), the median age of census family heads under 45 has dropped between 1966 and 1971. The drop was due not only to the recent coming of age of the larger cohorts of the young adult population in the marriageable and family formation ages, but also to the fact that the median for census family heads under 45 excludes the population under 15 and over 45, and so was not affected by the recent declining trend in births and in improvements in longevity, the two factors responsible for the recent rise in the median age of the total population. Probably the decline in the median age of one-parent family heads between 1966 and 1971 also was a factor.

4.3.2. Trends in the Ages of Husbands and Wives, Canada, 1951 - 71

There are certain characteristics of the ages of husbands in relation to the ages of wives. Table 4.17, which presents husbands in five-year age groups and wives in terms of whether they are in the same, or older or younger age group reveals some of these characteristics.⁷

See footnote(s) on page 126.

TABLE 4.17. Age of Husband by Age of Wife, Canada, 1951-71

Age of husband	Total	In same age group	In younger age group	In older age group
1951				
Total	100.0	37.8	54.9	7.3
15-19 years	100.0	69.3	..	30.7
20-24 "	100.0	68.2	18.2	13.6
25-29 "	100.0	50.6	39.8	9.6
30-34 "	99.9	39.8	52.0	8.1
35-39 "	100.0	36.5	56.1	7.4
40-44 "	99.9	33.1	60.4	6.4
45-49 "	100.0	31.3	62.3	6.4
50-54 "	100.0	31.3	62.2	6.5
55-59 "	100.0	30.5	62.4	7.1
60-64 "	100.0	29.3	63.4	7.3
65-69 "	100.0	28.7	64.2	7.1
70 years and over	100.0	47.0	53.0	..
1956				
Total	100.0	39.2	53.8	7.0
15-19 years	100.0	75.9	..	24.1
20-24 "	100.0	69.6	18.9	11.5
25-29 "	100.0	50.1	41.0	8.9
30-34 "	100.0	44.4	47.4	8.2
35-39 "	100.0	38.0	54.3	7.7
40-44 "	100.0	35.3	58.0	6.7
45-49 "	99.9	32.6	61.1	6.2
50-54 "	100.0	30.6	63.4	6.0
55-59 "	100.0	30.6	62.2	7.2
60-64 "	100.1	29.5	63.8	6.8
65-69 "	100.0	27.9	64.7	7.4
70 years and over	100.0	48.2	51.8	..
1961				
Total	100.0	39.7	53.0	7.3
15-19 years	100.0	76.9	..	23.1
20-24 "	99.9	68.7	21.6	9.6
25-29 "	100.0	48.5	43.0	8.5
30-34 "	100.0	43.2	48.2	8.6
35-39 "	100.0	41.6	49.7	8.7
40-44 "	100.1	36.1	56.1	7.9
45-49 "	100.0	34.2	58.5	7.3
50-54 "	100.0	31.8	61.7	6.5
55-59 "	100.0	30.1	63.5	6.4
60-64 "	100.0	28.8	64.4	6.8
65-69 "	100.0	27.7	65.2	7.1
70 years and over	100.0	50.0	50.0	..

.. Figures not available.

Source: 1951 Census of Canada, Vol. X, Table 23, and Vol. III, Table 143; 1956 Census of Canada, Vol. I, Table 57, and Vol. III, Table 17; 1961 Census of Canada, Vol. II, Part 1, Table 95; 1966 Census of Canada, Vol. II, Table 83; and 1971 Census of Canada, Bulletin 2.2-8, Table 61.

TABLE 4.17. Age of Husband by Age of Wife, Canada, 1951-71 - Concluded

Age of husband	Total	In same age group	In younger age group	In older age group
1966				
Total	100.0	40.9	52.2	6.9
15-19 years	100.0	77.8	..	22.2
20-24 "	100.0	71.1	20.7	8.2
25-29 "	100.0	48.2	45.6	6.2
30-34 "	100.0	43.1	49.1	7.8
35-39 "	99.0	41.3	50.4	8.2
40-44 "	100.1	40.9	51.0	8.2
45-49 "	100.0	35.8	56.6	7.6
50-54 "	100.1	33.9	59.2	7.0
55-59 "	100.0	31.3	62.2	6.5
60-64 "	100.0	29.3	64.3	6.4
65-69 "	100.0	28.1	65.5	6.4
70 years and over	100.0	51.6	48.4	..
1971				
Total	100.1	41.8	50.6	7.7
15-19 years	100.0	71.7	..	28.3
20-24 "	100.1	74.0	16.5	9.6
25-29 "	100.1	50.6	43.5	6.0
30-34 "	100.0	41.2	52.0	6.8
35-39 "	100.0	39.9	51.6	8.5
40-44 "	100.0	39.0	51.4	9.6
45-49 "	99.9	39.3	51.1	9.5
50-54 "	99.9	34.0	56.8	9.1
55-59 "	100.0	32.8	59.0	8.2
60-64 "	100.0	30.1	62.3	7.6
65-69 "	100.0	28.4	65.2	6.4
70 years and over	100.0	52.0	48.0	..

.. Figures not available.

Source: 1951 Census of Canada, Vol. X, Table 23, and Vol. III, Table 143; 1956 Census of Canada, Vol. I, Table 57, and Vol. III, Table 17; 1961 Census of Canada, Vol. II, Part 1, Table 95; 1966 Census of Canada, Vol. II, Table 83; and 1971 Census of Canada, Bulletin 2.2-8, Table 61.

The statistics in Table 4.17 reveal that most husbands are married to wives in the same age group or in the age group younger than their own. Of interest is the fact that as the age of the husband rises the percentages in each age group, married to wives in the same age group, decline. The reason for this is twofold. First, the older a man is, the more likely he is to have married at a time when the age difference between bride and groom was greater than it is today. Second, the range of choice for grooms, insofar as the age of a bride is concerned, increases as the age of the prospective husband increases, and reflects itself in men marrying women who are younger than they are. But it is noteworthy that, in Canada, this traditional mode is not extreme insofar as the age of female spouse is concerned.

Thus, in each five-year age group of husbands shown in Table 4.17, the majority were married to wives within the same age group and in the next lowest age group. Husbands married to wives who are older than they have constituted only a relatively small percentage of the total in each age group except for those husbands in the youngest ages. This is because, for the latter, prospective brides in the generally acceptable, same or younger ages are extremely limited.

The statistics in Table 4.17, particularly those for the younger age groups, demonstrate the effects of movements in age at marriage and in the proportions married, in Canada, over recent decades. Specifically, we note the decline in the age at marriage for both men and women, the narrowing of the difference in the age at marriage of brides and grooms, and so the increased proportions of husbands married to wives in the same age group. As may be seen in Table 4.17, in 1971, over 72% of husbands under 20 were married to wives in the same age group. This percentage increased steadily to 75.9% in 1956, reaching 76.9% in 1961 and 77.8% in 1966. The decline to about 71.7% in 1971 was due to the "marriage squeeze" that had the effect also of increasing, from 1966 - 71, the percentage of husbands under 20 who were married to wives in an older age group.

Since in Canada, as elsewhere, men in earlier times were always more inclined to marry women younger than themselves, women were more likely to be widowed at an earlier age. This, coupled with the greater longevity of women than men, increased the number of older women in the population relative to older men, a phenomenon noted frequently in this study as characteristic of the contemporary Canadian scene. However, the decline in the age difference at marriage of brides and grooms over the period 1941 - 71 means that, generally speaking, husbands and wives these days will be able to look forward to more years of married life together, provided, of course, they manage to avoid the increased risks of family dissolution.

4.3.3. Trends and Patterns in the Demographic Composition of Primary and Secondary Families, Canada, 1956 - 71

In some respects, the materials already presented in this chapter have indicated, although indirectly, some of the general features of the changes in the demographic composition of primary and secondary families. Table 4.18 and Charts 4.3, 4.4, 4.5 and 4.6 depict changes in certain aspects of the demographic composition of primary and secondary families over the period 1956 - 71. However, it should be kept in mind that these materials not only reflect changes in the age, sex and marital status composition of the Canadian family population, but also may be subject to the qualifications outlined in footnote 2.

To avoid repetition and perhaps unwarranted speculation, the emphasis in the text that follows will be placed on the general patterns of the demographic composition of the three different kinds of families for which information is given in the table and charts presented in this part of the study.

TABLE 4.18. Percentage Distribution of Population in Primary, Related and Lodging and Other Families by Family Status and Age, Canada, 1956-71

Family status and age	1956	1961	1966	1971
Primary families				
Total heads, wives and children	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total heads	25.8	25.4	25.3	26.3
15-34 years	6.7	6.6	6.6	7.6
15-24 years . . . . .	..	..	1.2	1.5
25-34 " . . . . .	..	..	5.4	6.1
35-44 years	6.7	6.6	6.5	6.2
45-54 "	5.4	5.5	5.5	5.6
55-64 "	3.7	3.6	3.8	4.1
65 years and over	3.4	3.2	3.1	3.1
Total wives	23.9	23.5	23.5	24.3
15-34 years	8.9	8.4	8.2	8.9
15-24 years . . . . .	..	..	2.4	2.8
25-34 " . . . . .	..	..	5.8	6.1
35-44 years	6.4	6.4	6.2	5.6
45-54 "	4.3	4.5	4.7	4.9
55-64 "	2.7	2.6	2.7	3.1
65 years and over	1.7	1.6	1.6	1.7
Total children	50.3	51.1	51.2	49.0
Under 6 years	16.4	16.4	14.7	11.5
6-14 years	18.7	21.8	22.1	21.9
15-18 "	6.7	6.7	7.8	8.5
19-24 "	5.5	3.9	4.7	5.3
25 years and over	3.0	2.3	1.9	1.8

.. Figures not available.

Source: 1956 Census of Canada, Vol. I, Table 58; 1961 Census of Canada, Vol. II, Part 1, Table 98; 1966 Census of Canada, Vol. II, Table 93; and 1971 Census of Canada, Bulletin 2.1-12, Table 85.

TABLE 4.18. Percentage Distribution of Population in Primary, Related and Lodging and Other Families by Family Status and Age, Canada, 1956-71 - Continued

Family status and age	1956	1961	1966	1971
	Related families			
Total heads, wives and children	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total heads	34.7	33.5	34.1	36.9
15-34 years	18.2	17.1	16.8	19.7
15-24 years . . . . .	..	..	6.4	8.4
25-34 " . . . . .	..	..	10.4	11.2
35-44 years	6.1	6.0	5.9	4.9
45-54 "	3.0	3.4	3.4	3.1
55-64 "	2.3	2.4	2.9	3.4
65 years and over	5.2	4.7	5.2	5.9
Total wives	26.1	24.6	24.4	26.6
15-34 years	16.8	15.0	14.1	16.0
15-24 years . . . . .	..	..	7.9	10.1
25-34 " . . . . .	..	..	6.2	5.9
35-44 years	3.4	3.3	3.1	2.2
45-54 "	1.6	1.9	2.0	1.9
55-64 "	1.6	1.8	2.2	2.8
65 years and over	2.7	2.6	3.0	3.7
Total children	39.2	41.9	41.6	36.4
Under 6 years	19.9	20.6	18.6	16.7
6-14 years	11.3	13.4	13.5	11.8
15-18 "	2.9	3.2	3.7	3.3
19-24 "	2.3	2.1	2.4	2.5
25 years and over	2.8	2.6	3.4	2.2

.. Figures not available.

Source: 1956 Census of Canada, Vol. I, Table 58; 1961 Census of Canada, Vol. II, Part 1, Table 98; 1966 Census of Canada, Vol. II, Table 93; and 1971 Census of Canada, Bulletin 2.1-12, Table 85.

TABLE 4.18. Percentage Distribution of Population in Primary, Related and Lodging and Other Families by Family Status and Age, Canada, 1956-71 - Concluded

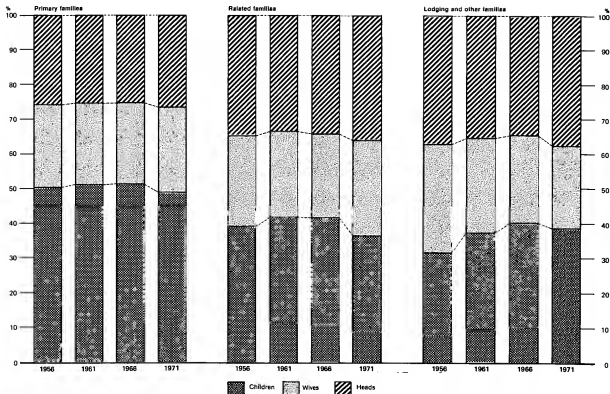
Family status and age	1956	1961	1966	1971
	Lodging and other families			
Total heads, wives and children	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total heads	37.0	35.1	34.4	37.9
15-34 years	19.5	18.6	17.4	20.7
15-24 years . . . . .	..	..	5.6	8.3
25-34 " . . . . .	..	..	11.8	12.4
35-44 years	7.9	7.2	7.7	7.0
45-54 "	4.8	4.3	4.3	3.9
55-64 "	2.6	2.6	2.7	2.5
65 years and over	2.2	2.5	2.4	3.8
Total wives	31.3	27.1	25.4	23.2
15-34 years	20.4	17.5	15.7	13.6
15-24 years . . . . .	..	..	7.8	7.8
25-34 " . . . . .	..	..	7.9	5.8
35-44 years	5.1	4.1	4.1	2.7
45-54 "	2.9	2.5	2.4	2.2
55-64 "	1.6	1.6	1.7	1.8
65 years and over	1.2	1.3	1.5	2.8
Total children	31.7	37.8	40.1	38.9
Under 6 years	15.6	18.1	17.9	15.4
6-14 years	9.7	12.2	14.0	14.8
15-18 "	3.1	3.4	4.3	4.5
19-24 "	2.3	2.2	2.4	2.7
25 years and over	1.0	2.0	1.6	1.4

.. Figures not available.

Source: 1956 Census of Canada, Vol. I, Table 58; 1961 Census of Canada, Vol. II, Part 1, Table 98; 1966 Census of Canada, Vol. II, Table 93; and 1971 Census of Canada, Bulletin 2.1-12, Table 85.

Chart - 4.3

Percentage Distribution of the Population in Primary, Related, and Lodging and Other Families by Family Status, Canada, 1956-71



Source: Table 4.18.

Table 4.18 and Chart 4.3 present the percentage distributions of family members within each family type. It may be noted that in 1971 just about one half of the primary family population was made up of children, and about one-third were children in the ages up to 14. The corresponding figures for the previous census years were even higher, due to the additions to the child population in the youngest ages during the decade of the 1950's.

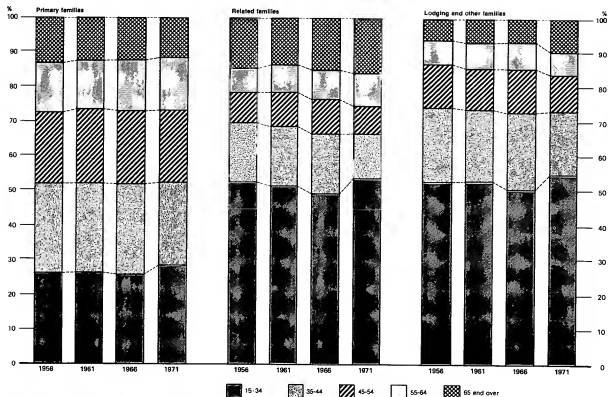
Furthermore, the percentages given for each year in Table 4.18 and depicted in Chart 4.3 indicate that, of the remaining 50% of the primary family population, heads and wives were just about, although not quite, equally divided, demonstrating that most primary families have a husband and wife present. The difference of about two percentage points between heads and wives in 1971, and indeed, for every census year for which figures are given in Table 4.18 represents those who happen to be lone-parent heads of primary families. The large share of children in the primary family population is attributable to the fact that families maintaining their own households are more likely to span the whole range of the family-building ages. In addition, it reflects the fact that in most primary families both parents are present, and for the majority of these families the process of family building has not been interrupted.

By contrast, insofar as both types of secondary families are concerned, it will be seen in Table 4.18 that heads and children in 1971 each represented well over one third of the total population in related and lodging families, respectively, while wives as a percentage of the total represented considerably less: that is, over one quarter of the total for related families and under one quarter of the total for lodging and other families. This reveals, of course, that more secondary families are one-parent families and indicates, too, why children constitute a smaller percentage of the total population in each of the two types of secondary families than they do in primary families. Secondary families are more likely to be one-parent families and so more of them have experienced interruptions in family building. Furthermore, the adult population of secondary families is more likely to be concentrated in the youngest and oldest ages and therefore selects out families with children in the youngest ages, that is, families that are not yet complete or that have been dissolved before they were completed or those in which the children have grown and departed.

It is of more than passing interest to examine the percentage distributions of heads, wives and children by age as graphically depicted in Charts 4.4, 4.5 and 4.6. (The percentage distributions in these charts were calculated on the basis of the same sources cited in Table 4.18.) Further, the comparison of the two types of secondary families with primary families tells us something about why some families in Canada still double up with other families to form multiple-family households.

The statistics represented in Charts 4.4, 4.5 and 4.6 would seem to indicate that, despite the recent propensity of the young to belong to non-family households, and despite the marriage squeeze, young Canadian men and women are,

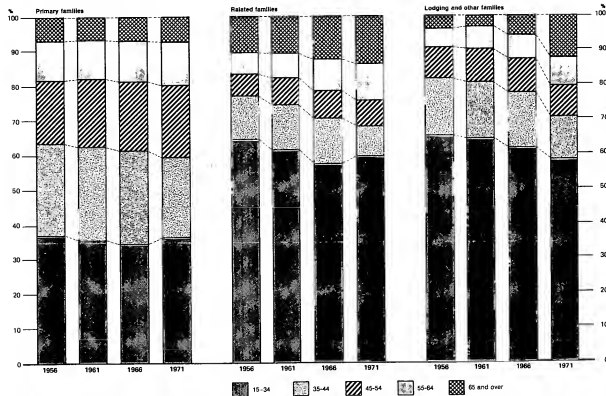
Percentage Distribution of Family Heads in Primary, Related, and Lodging and Other Families by Age, Canada, 1956-71



Source: 1956 Census of Canada, Bul. 1-20, Table 58; 1961 Census of Canada, Bul. 2.1-12, (93-521), Table 90, 1966 Census of Canada, Bul. 2-14, (93-614), Table 93, and 1971 Census of Canada, Bul. 2.1-12 (93-712), Table 83.

Chart - 4.5

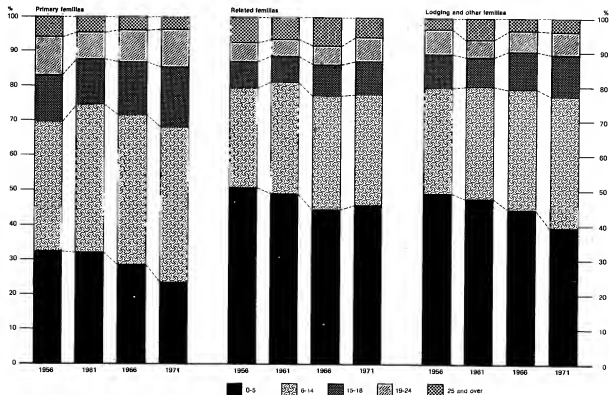
Percentage Distribution of Wives in Primary, Related, and Lodging and Other Families by Age, Canada, 1956-71



Source: 1956 Census of Canada, Bul. 1-20, Table 58; 1961 Census of Canada, Bul. 2.1-12, (93-521), Table 98;
1966 Census of Canada, Bul. 2-14, (93-814), Table 93, and 1971 Census of Canada, Bul. 2.1-12 (93-712), Table 85

Chart - 4.6

Percentage Distribution of Children in Primary, Related, and Lodging and Other Families by Age, Canada, 1956-71



Source: 1956 Census of Canada, Bul. 1-20, Table 56; 1961 Census of Canada, Bul. 2.1-12, (93-521), Table 98, 1966 Census of Canada, Bul. 2-14, (93-614), Table 93; and 1971 Census of Canada, Bul. 2.1-12 (93-712), Table 85

generally speaking, still marrying and forming families at fairly young ages. As far as children in families are concerned, the patterns of change depicted in Chart 4.6 are what one would expect from the decline in fertility during the 1960's and early 1970's, and the consequent redistribution of children in census families by age, as already described in detail.

Among primary families, heads under 35 have constituted well under 30% of total heads at each census date for which figures are presented. Corresponding percentages for wives are higher since of course, despite the narrowing of the difference of age at marriage between men and women, women still marry, generally speaking, at younger ages than men. Among children in the youngest ages, their share of total children in primary families has ranged from about one-third in 1956 to about one-quarter in 1971.

By contrast, in both types of secondary families, heads and wives under 35 constituted at least 50% or more of their respective total populations at each census date from 1956 - 71. Furthermore, in related and lodging families the proportions of family heads under 25 were about four times greater than the corresponding percentages of primary heads under 25, and in the case of wives of similar age, three or more times as great as in primary families. Regarding children in the youngest ages in related families, their proportions ranged between 50% and 45%, while in lodging families, the range was between 50% and 40% over the period 1956 - 71.

Similarly, the percentages of the related family population in the oldest ages, 65 and over, were higher than the corresponding percentages in primary families. And although the percentages of heads and wives 65 and over were lower for lodging families than for primary families, the increase from 1966 - 71 in these proportions for lodging families was marked.

It is obvious then that more than half of all heads and wives of secondary families are under 35, and it is their age and likely their financial situation that cause them to live as secondary families in the households of primary family heads. It is also noteworthy that, among heads of related families, almost one half of the total were under 35 and considerably more than one half of wives were under 35, indicating that there is a tendency for relatives to make room for young people who are married and cannot yet maintain their own households. The higher percentage of children in the younger ages in secondary families, as compared with primary families, is again a reflection of the fact that it is young family heads with small children who often find themselves in the position of having to share a household.

FOOTNOTES

¹ That is, the married include both the "married, spouse absent" and the "separated" categories from 1951.

² Distributions of family heads by age, marital status and family status disclose declines in 1971 of the percentages of married heads and heads of husband-wife families in the youngest ages, and increases in the percentages of those heading one-parent families in these younger ages (see Table 4.8). However, it now appears that in the 1971 Census data there may have been an over-estimation of one-parent family heads in the youngest ages. Therefore, it is not possible to determine at the present time how much of the increase in one-parent families shown in Table 4.1 for the period 1966 - 71 and in other relevant tables throughout this chapter was real or intrinsic, and how much was due to this over-estimation. A study is under way to determine the extent of the error in the census figures for the divorced and widowed in the youngest ages in 1971. This study should yield a correction factor that may be used with the relevant published data. For more information on the quality of the 1971 population data by age, sex and marital status, see Appendix VI, "Quality and Comparability of Data and Their Implications" (Basavarajappa, 1978). It should be noted that the latter also provides information on the high undercoverage of the divorced in 1971. However, in all likelihood, the higher undercoverage of the divorced in 1971 did not compensate for the over-estimation of the divorced at the younger ages. For further information on the evaluation of the 1971 Census data by age, sex and marital status, see Norland, *et al.*, 1975.

³ It is also a matter of some importance to consider and investigate the degree to which self-enumeration, used for the first time in the 1971 Census, may have contributed to improved reporting by never-married parents, and therefore to their increase in numbers over 1966 - 71.

⁴ See Appendix A, which describes the reasons for the differences in 1961 and 1971, in the figures for all family households and for all primary family households. Information for family households refers to household data. Statistics for families by type of living arrangements as described in this part of the text refer to the census family data. These are different universes, and there is no bridge between the two that would make it possible to use the statistics from both universes simultaneously.

⁵ In the 1941 Census volumes, there are statistics on lodging families, described as "second families in households where the head is not also the head of the household". However, it is not possible to derive families maintaining own household for 1941 by a simple subtraction procedure. This is because the definition of household used in the 1941 Census of Population was different from that used in subsequent census years, with common housekeeping arrangements determining whether a group constituted a household. Thus, two (or even more) separate households could occupy a single dwelling. Also, although the census family definition was used in the 1941 Census, and census enumerators were instructed to indicate a second family living in the same household with the family of the household head, the lack of detail in compiling such 1941 data, complicated by the fact that two or more households could occupy the same dwelling, make it impossible to obtain directly for 1941, families by type of living arrangements, which would be reasonably comparable to that for 1951 and subsequent census years.

⁶ Although statistics for children 25 and over in census families are available for some census years, the median was calculated using figures for children 0 - 24 years to maximize the measures from the available data series.

⁷ For studying the relationship between ages of husbands and wives, a more refined breakdown by age than that in Table 4.17 would have been desirable, but was not available and could not be presented for purposes of this study.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

5.1. Further Avenues of Research

As has been pointed out in the Preface, this study represents only the most preliminary and elementary use of some of the relevant census statistics on households and families in Canada. More detailed mining of the available data is feasible and warranted.

Research on trends over recent decades in interprovincial and rural-urban variations, as well as in changes in the life cycle of the family and household, would be a natural extension of the present study. In addition, the detailed investigation and discussion of some major features of the interprovincial and the rural-urban differences in households and families, based on detailed 1971 Census data, would add considerably to our knowledge of interprovincial, interregional and rural-urban variations in the demographic, economic, social and cultural spheres.

The demographic and other characteristics of children in census families deserve comprehensive in-depth treatment. Research in this area would be best pursued on the basis of person-family statistics, that is, on data for children according to the characteristics of their families. Such information would make it possible to link the numbers, ages, level of schooling and other important characteristics of children to the structure and types of families in which they live, and to selected characteristics of their siblings and parents. Of particular importance is the examination of the differences between young adults in the ages 19 - 24 who continue to live at home as members of census families, and those in the same ages who live apart from their family households, either alone or with their peers in two- or multiple-person non-family households.

The changes in both family and non-family types of living arrangements as described in this study also indicate that the investigation of the kinds of housing being provided to consumers merits some dedicated attention. A useful study could be undertaken to elucidate the relationship of the increasing nuclearization of Canadian family households, the growing convergence on the two-child family, the increasing incidence of non-family households, particularly of the one-person type, to the nature of urban dwellings as supplied by the contemporary building industry.

Analytical studies of different kinds of families are also very much needed. It would be useful to undertake research on families in the older ages, young families, farm families, immigrant families and families of working mothers, to name only some examples. Information for such families would be helpful for policy and planning purposes, and would justify their execution quite apart from the interest they would generate from a research point of view.

Using information derived from survey and interview methods, sociologists and social practitioners could contribute to the knowledge and understanding of the family by giving us some insight into certain subjects and issues that cannot be studied on the basis of the official statistical data used in this study. Some examples are: the size and other characteristics of families with adopted children; the viability of one-parent families headed by never-married parents; the effects upon children of the dissolution of families by separation and divorce; the effects of the remarriage of their parents; the reasons why persons choose to live alone, their demographic, economic, social and cultural characteristics, and the average duration of the one-person non-family household type of living arrangement.

5.2. Concluding Remarks

Much has been written in contemporary social science literature and the popular press about the importance of the family in Canada, and the forces that have tended to strengthen or weaken its role, condition, and its influence as a basic social institution.

It has been shown in this study that, over recent decades, the vast majority of Canadians have continued to choose marriage and traditional family forms, such as the husband-wife conjugal unit, and the husband-wife and child nucleus, but have demonstrated a heightened interest in more private living arrangements for their families. However, it is also clear that the continuing preference for traditional family forms has been maintained side by side with a certain increase in the lone parenthood of families by the separated, divorced and the never married,¹ and with the emergence and growth of newer types of living arrangements, such as the non-family household, in which persons live together with other non-family or non-related persons, or entirely alone. Of total non-family households in Canada, the one-person type is more frequent than the two- or multiple-person type, and it has undergone a more dramatic growth over the last 15 years. In 1971, close to three quarters of all non-family households were those in which persons lived alone.

As to the issues of the role and condition of the family in this country, the increase in divorce and remarriage, the increase in the lone parenthood of families, and the emergence of new types of living arrangements, are each factors with a particular and unique significance. Increases in divorce and remarriage in recent years have meant an increase in the velocity of family dissolution and family reformation. This is obviously evidence of the fact that there have been fundamental changes taking place in the attitudes and actions of Canadians concerning the permanence, continuity and purpose of the family. It is clear that Canadians no longer consider the relationship founded on the basis of first marriage and the traditional family form as necessarily sacred, eternal, and

See footnotes on page 131.

primarily oriented towards childbearing and child-rearing. If a marriage does not work or is not satisfactory to one or both partners, it may be dissolved, even if young children are involved, and the spouses thus freed will in many cases try again a new marriage. Thus, divorce and remarriage have made a certain contribution, along with improvements in life expectancy, to the maintenance of high and fairly stable proportions of married family heads. For similar reasons, Kingsley Davis and Norman Ryder have both concluded that in the United States divorce and remarriage rates do not indicate that marriage is falling into disfavour, but rather that Americans still strongly favour marriage and a family existence (Davis, 1974; Ryder, 1974). The same may be said for Canada.

Certain aspects of the Canadian census data² as well as certain data processing problems³ connected with the 1971 Census make it impossible to specify precisely the magnitude of the increase and the average duration of the lone parenthood of families in Canada. The sharp increases in never-married family heads over the second half of the 1960's gave reason to speculate whether we have been witnessing the emergence of a new family form in Canada. More than likely this development was a temporary result of the sexual and marital status revolutions of the 1960's. However, quite apart from this aspect, it is generally known that lone-parent families with separated, divorced or never-married heads, and reconstituted families, often pose problems for the parents, children and communities involved. This may be particularly so at the present time since, as we have seen, the dissolution of families has gradually shifted from being caused by death, and affecting those in the older ages, to being caused by separation and divorce, and affecting parents, particularly female parents, and children in the younger ages. The individual, family and social problems that have arisen from the increase in lone parenthood depend, for treatment and solution, upon social workers and other social practitioners. Demographers can perhaps make a contribution in this area by improving the official statistics on lone-parent families.

In recent years, students of the family in Canada have displayed an acute interest in observing and documenting a variety of alternative individual and family life-styles that became increasingly visible during the decade of the 1960's and the early 1970's. Casual and consensual unions, communes formed by individuals or families living together, open-style marriages with sexual and emotional freedom for both partners, and other types of marital and family arrangements have become popular subjects of investigation. Although usually based upon very small samples, or simply on examples readily available to the researcher, the findings have been increasingly presented and published within the framework of social science research on the family, implying therefore, that such alternative life-styles are somehow competing with the traditional family form in Canada. It is doubtful, however, that this is the case. The fact that some persons choose to forego the civil or legal marriage requirements in favour of consensual

See footnotes on page 131.

or casual unions, or that certain individuals and families are essaying communal living arrangements, or that some couples seem to favour open marriages, does indicate that Canadians are trying out alternative family forms. However to date, these alternatives seem to have remained marginal. They cannot be considered as seriously competing with family forms and formation along traditional lines.

On the other hand, an important factor deserving consideration in the assessment of the family's present and future role in this country is the growing phenomenon of Canadians living with other non-census family, or non-related persons, or living alone. A certain caution is called for in interpreting the Canadian statistics on non-family households used in this study, since they cover such a short period, and the changes they reveal developed during a period of relative affluence. Nevertheless, given the short-term changes that have occurred, for reasons already detailed throughout this study, and a certain expectation that such trends may continue, some attempt at putting them in perspective is warranted.

Consider, for example, the dramatic growth in one-person non-family households, that is, in persons living alone, and the concentration of such private living arrangements within certain age and sex groups. It is the young and elderly females, but mostly the latter, who have provided the main supply of one-person non-family household heads. This tendency for the young and the old to live alone is a modern phenomenon and quite unprecedented. In and of itself, it signals incipient transformations of the stages in the life history of individuals and families in Canada, rather than any fundamental change in the actual structure of the traditional family form as we know it. However, it is obvious that we are living in a society where there are more persons, particularly older persons, living outside of families and living alone than has ever been the case before. What does this mean in terms of the present and future role of the family in Canada?

In attempting to answer this question, it is necessary to go beyond simple arithmetic, that is, the mechanical interpretation of statistics, and to consider the function and role of the nuclear family. From this vantage point, it can be said with some confidence that the nuclear family and the family household are and will remain central to Canadian society in a number of ways. The family is still the basic unit upon which society depends for the reproduction of its population, and for the care of infants and children. The family continues to provide the main environment for the socialization of the young, and for affective outlets for both parents and children. The family also organizes the lives of couples in the empty-nest stage, that is, those who remain together after their children have left home. In an ever more complicated and diversified society, the family functions as the most important haven and refuge where its members may console, fortify and renew themselves for the daily round of relationships in the outside world. In addition, the family and family household will continue to provide the most important point of contact between the generations, by contributing to the maintenance of close ties of kin living apart. In all these and probably other respects as well, the nuclear family retains its vitality and vigour as a basic and central social institution in Canada.

FOOTNOTES

¹ See Chapter 4, footnote 2.

² Since the Canadian census schedule asks information about first marriage only, it is not possible to determine in how many cases families in the census statistics are based on unions of spouses who have remarried after the death of a spouse or after divorce. By the same token, it is not possible to estimate from the census statistics how many children have been "affected" by the dissolution of marriages, and reconstitution of a family or families.

³ See footnote 1.

APPENDIX A

DEFINITIONS OF HOUSEHOLD AND FAMILY IN THE 1971 CENSUS OF CANADA

Detailed reviews of the concepts of household and family that have been used in the Canadian census up to and including 1971 have been presented in a number of publications (Gauthier, 1971; Loken, 1973; Wargon, 1971, 1972, 1974a). Charts 1.1 and 1.2 in Section 1.4 of this study have been reproduced from two of these documents as indicated. They depict the comparability with previous censuses of the 1971 concepts of household and census family that are given briefly in the main text of Section 1.4.

Some aspects of these 1971 concepts of household and census family and related definitions are treated here in greater detail. Relevant sources are cited for the benefit of the reader and data user. For some other important technical aspects of the 1971 household and family data, see Appendix B.

Household

For census purposes, a household consists of a person or group of persons occupying one dwelling. It usually consists of a family group with or without lodgers, employees, etc. However, it may consist of two or more families sharing a dwelling, of a group of unrelated persons or of one person living alone. Every person is a member of some household.

The census classifies households into two main groups: (1) the household which consists of one person or a small group of persons occupying an ordinary dwelling, usually spoken of as a private household; and (2) the "collective" type of household which includes hotels, large lodging-houses of 10 or more lodgers, institutions, hospitals or military camps, lumber camps and other establishments of a similar nature (Canada, 1973c).

Household Head

For census purposes, every household must have a head. This is the husband if both husband and wife are present, the parent (regardless of age or dependency) if living with unmarried children, or any member of a group sharing a dwelling equally. The household head may or may not be the family head as well. A person occupying a dwelling alone is always reported as the head (Canada, 1973c).

Census Family

A census family consists of a husband and wife (with or without children who have never been married, regardless of age) or a parent with one or more children never married, living in the same dwelling. A family may consist also of a man or woman living with a guardianship child or ward under 21 years for whom no pay was received (Canada, 1973a).

Family Head

Refers to the husband in a husband-wife family or the parent in a one-parent family (Canada, 1975a).

Type of Household

Refers to the basic division of households into family and non-family type. The term family household refers to a household containing at least one census family. **One-family household** refers to a single census family occupying one dwelling. The family may be that of the household head or one living as a related, lodging or other type of family with a household head who is a non-family person. **A two-or-more family household** is one in which two or more census families occupy the same dwelling. One family may be that of the household head, or the household head may be a non-family person with whom two or more census families are residing.

The term non-family household refers to one person living alone in a dwelling or a group of persons occupying one dwelling, who do not constitute a census family (Canada, 1973b).

Persons in Families

The classification "persons in families" includes all persons who constitute a family in the sense defined above. Unmarried children (including own children, adopted children and stepchildren) are, regardless of age, members of the family and are classified together with parents as persons in families (Canada, 1973a).

Family Persons in Households

This term refers to members of a household who are related by blood or marriage and have a husband-wife or parent-unmarried-child relationship. Adopted children and stepchildren have the same status as own children (Canada, 1973c).

Non-family Persons in Households

This term refers to those living alone, those living with unrelated individuals and those living with relatives but not in a husband-wife or parent-unmarried-child relationship (Canada, 1973c).

Family Status

This term refers to the relationship of persons in the family to the family head (Canada, 1973c). In a census family, a person may be a head, a wife or a child.

Children in Families

Refers to sons and daughters, under 25 years, who have never married and are living at home. Children who have ever been married, regardless of age, are not

considered as members of their parents' family even though they are living in the same dwelling. Unmarried sons and daughters, 25 years and over, living at home on the census date are also family members, but are considered as children only in a broad sense in a few tabulations (Canada, 1973c; 1973d).

Household Status

This term refers to the relationship(s) of persons in the household to the household head. A person may be related to the head through blood or marriage (e.g., wife, son or daughter, brother-in-law, etc.) or he may be unrelated (e.g., lodger, employee, etc.).

A **lodger** is a person living in a household who is unrelated to the head of household by blood or marriage and is other than a partner or employee. An unrelated child for whom pay is received (e.g., a ward of the Children's Aid) is reported as a lodger.

A **partner** is a person who is unrelated to the head of household and shares accommodation on a partnership basis.

An **employee** is a person who is employed by the head of household and resides in the same household (such as maid, nurse, or hired farm labourer).

An **inmate** is a person other than an employee, for whom care or custody is being provided, such as persons residing in mental hospitals, homes for the aged, penitentiaries or other institutions (Canada, 1973c).

Type of Family

Refers to the classification of families as to whether they maintain their own households (i.e., whether the head of the family is also head of the household). Families not maintaining their own households are further classified according to their relationship to the head of the household (i.e., related or lodging families) (Canada, 1973a). Families maintaining their own households are also referred to as primary families, and families not maintaining their own households are also referred to as secondary families.

Total Family Households and Families Maintaining Own Household

There is a discrepancy in the relevant Canadian census tables between one-family households and multiple-family households, which gives the count of total family households, and the count of families maintaining own household. The difference is due to the number of family households in which a family or families are living with a non-family household head.

These differences for 1961 and 1971 have been worked out as follows:

	1961 ¹	1971 ²
1. All family households	3,948,935	4,933,445
2. All primary family households	3,900,284	4,893,890
3. Difference 1 - 2	48,651	39,555

¹ 1961 Census of Canada, Volume 2.1, Table 23.

² 1971 Census of Canada, Volume 2.1, Table 9.

APPENDIX B

THE 1971 HOUSEHOLD, FAMILY AND POPULATION DATA

The 1971 Census household and family data (including some data on the population base), that have been used for the tables in this study, are available both in published volumes and in unpublished form. Unpublished data from the 1971 Census are available in the form of: (1) various summary tapes, and also various unpublished tabulations, access to which is subject to the restrictions or provisions of the Statistics Act; (2) special request tabulations designed by the users themselves; and (3) special request tabulations available because of the geocoding capability incorporated in the 1971 Census.

The tables in the published volumes with information from the 1971 Census returns, as well as the unpublished data, reveal that, in addition to the variations in the totals among the three universes of population, households and census families, due primarily to definitional differences, there are also variations in specific totals and sub-totals, from one table to another, within each of these three universes. For example, there are three different totals in the 1971 Census data for each of: all households, all families and total population (see Table B.1). These and other differences in the 1971 Census tables are attributable to certain aspects of the 1971 Census methodology, processing and data retrieval requirements, aspects which, in some cases, were innovations incorporated in the 1971 Census.

An explanation of these differences is available in a Census and Household Surveys Field publication, *The 1971 Census Housing, Household and Family Data: Some Technical Aspects and Considerations* (Wargon, 1976a). In brief, this memorandum describes relevant aspects of the 1971 Census definitions, enumeration methods and data processing techniques. Furthermore, it explains in what respect the variations in the 1971 population, private household and census family totals can be attributed to: definitional differences; the use of sampling and related data processing techniques (such as weighting, for example); and the random rounding technique that was used to preserve the confidentiality of the 1971 Census returns. Readers interested in greater detail are referred to the above-mentioned publication.

Table B.1 is presented here to acquaint the reader with the various totals in the 1971 published tables for private households, census families and total population. These tables will permit the reader to identify the various 1971 figures for population, households and families used in the tables of this study. It will be noted that an effort has been made to use, in any one table, 1971 figures on the same base.

Data users should note in Table B.1 that the 1971 2 B weighted sample estimate for census families is greater than the 2 A or 100% count. This is also the

case in census family statistics which are cross-classified by various characteristics of the head. Indeed, for smaller counts, when tables are cross-classified according to a number of variables, the 2 A and 2 B differences may be greater than those between the total 2 A and 2 B counts of census families, given in Table B.1.

TABLE B.1. Variations Among Figures in 1971 Census Published Tables for Private Households, Census Families and Population, Canada, 1971

Item	2 A 100% count	2 B weighted sample estimate	2 A - 2 B difference column 1 - column 2	Relative deviation $\frac{\text{column 1} - \text{column 2}}{\text{column 1}} \times 100$
Private households:				
Rounded	6,041,305	6,040,815	+ 490	+ 0.01
Unrounded	6,041,302			
Census Families:				
Rounded	5,070,685 (5,070,680)	5,076,085	- 5,400	- 0.11
Unrounded	5,070,682			
	2 A 100% count (population counts of individuals)	2 A 100% count (population according to household and family status)	Individual persons for whom relation- ship to head of household at usual residence could not be determined (approximate)	Individual persons in "800" households
	1	2	3	4
Population:				
Rounded	21,568,310	21,427,050	141,000	140,798
Unrounded	21,568,311			

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Bulletin 1.2-3, Table 7; Bulletin 2.1-2, Tables 1 and 3; Bulletin 2.1-5, Table 19; Bulletin 2.1-12, Tables 85 and 86; Bulletin 2.2-2, Table 1; Bulletin 2.2-4, Tables 28 and 34; Bulletin 2.2-5, Table 38. "Random Additions to Census Metropolitan Areas, 1971 Census of Canada", Census Field, May 1973, mimeo, by Neil Collishaw.

APPENDIX C

ESTIMATES OF THE CANADIAN POPULATION IN HOUSEHOLDS AND FAMILIES, ACCORDING TO SIZE, AND ESTIMATES OF CHILDREN IN FAMILIES, ACCORDING TO SIZE, CANADA, 1951 - 71

The numbers for the size distributions of Canadian households and families and of children in families in Table 2.5 were used to obtain the numerical estimates of the population and of children, on which the percentage distributions, given in Table C.1, are based. For all sizes of households and families, except the open-ended sizes, the figures for numbers of households and families were multiplied by the relevant size of household and family in each row, for each census year. For the open-ended sizes, the following procedure was used: the numerical estimates already prepared for the various size groups were totalled and then subtracted from the appropriate count of the total Canadian population, corresponding in coverage to the count of households and families.

The importance of the estimated percentage distributions in Table C.1 is obvious from the conclusions they have elicited. The conclusions are given in Section 2.5. They show that the majority of Canadians continue to live in households and families of fairly moderate size. They also show that there has been an increase in the percentage of the estimated population residing in households of three to seven persons, from about 68% in 1966 to about 70% in 1971, due mainly to the increase over the same five-year period in the percentage of persons in four-person households. The importance in this development of the increase in two-child families in Canada is evident in the percentages for estimated children in families included in Table C.1.

These estimates further confirm the conclusion that changes in the percentage distribution of households of varying size over recent decades have been due to the marked increases in households of smallest size, that is, of one and two persons, and marked decreases in households of largest size, that is, in households of eight and more persons. The importance of the continuing decreases in largest size households in promoting the stability of households of moderate size and of the estimated population living in such households of moderate size is obvious.

Estimates of the population in census families by size, and of the number of children in census families, have also been carried out, and the percentage distributions appear in Table C.1, along with those for households. The decline in the percentages of the estimated population in census families of smallest size (that is, of two and three persons, or to put it another way, of childless couples, and couples with one child only), over 1951 - 71, is evident in the figures in Table C.1. Also evident is the increase over 1951 levels in the percentages of the estimated population in the two-child or four-person census family in 1971, and in the percentages of the estimated population in census families of moderate size.

Of considerable interest too are the figures in Table C.1 that demonstrate the substantial increases in the percentages of the estimated population of children in census families of two, three and four children over the period 1951 - 71 and the concentration, in 1971, of almost one quarter of Canada's children in families with two children. The importance of the decline in the estimated population of children in census families of largest size, that is, of six and more children, in this development and in the maintenance of the stability of the estimated population of children in five-child families, is self-evident.

TABLE C.1. Percentage Distribution of Estimated Population in Households and Census Families by Size and Estimated Population of Children in Census Families by Size, Canada, 1951 - 71

Item	1951	1956	1961	1966	1971
Households:¹					
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1	1.8	1.9	2.3	3.0	3.8
2	10.2	10.7	11.1	12.0	14.1
3	14.8	13.8	13.3	13.2	14.6
4	18.5	18.5	18.4	18.2	19.7
5	15.7	16.0	16.6	16.6	16.7
6	11.5	11.7	12.3	12.4	11.6
7	7.9	7.9	8.0	8.0	7.7
8 and more	19.6	19.6	18.0	16.7	11.8
Families:					
Total	99.9	100.1	99.9	100.0	100.0
2	16.8	16.0	14.9	14.8	16.9
3	19.3	17.4	16.0	15.2	16.6
4	21.5	21.6	21.2	20.9	22.4
5	14.8	16.2	17.2	17.6	16.5
6	9.4	10.5	11.6	12.2	11.4
7	6.1	6.5	7.0	7.4	6.8
8	4.1	4.2	4.4	4.6	3.4
9 and more	7.9	7.7	7.6	7.3	5.8
Children:					
Total	100.0	..	100.0	100.0	100.0
0	—	—	—	—	—
1	13.9	..	10.8	10.2	11.8
2	23.5	..	22.0	21.5	24.3
3	19.4	..	21.5	21.8	22.9
4	13.7	..	16.0	16.8	16.6
5	9.4	..	10.4	10.9	10.5
6 and more	20.1	..	19.3	18.9	13.9

¹ Yukon and Northwest Territories excluded from households in 1951.

.. Figures not available.

Source: Estimates based on same source as for Table 2.3.

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